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THE
MAKING OF A NATION

A Discussion of
Americanism and Americanization

By WENTWORTH STEWART







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Americanization*

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1920

THE STRATFORD COMPANY
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

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Boston, Mass.

The Alpine Press, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.

FOREWORD

In view of the type and number of aliens seeking citizenship and the conditions now obtaining in this country, the task of Americanization now demanding our attention is not merely that of their formal naturalization, but rather making them a vital part of our constituency, removing them from the condition of a public care to that of a national asset.

Inasmuch as they are to share the rights and privileges of citizenship in common with those born under the flag and are thereby to be an actual part of the nation this becomes pre-eminently a task in nation making.

The security of this country depends upon the uniform measure to which our mixed national elements correspond voluntarily and heartily to the fundamental principles and spirit of America. Believing that Americanization depends upon Americanism and that national conditions that exemplify in form and spirit our fundamental national standards are more essential than formal programs, the suggestions of these pages are offered.

WENTWORTH STEWART.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

OCTOBER 21, 1919.

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CHAPTER I

The Nation's Awakening

IN the nearly a century and a half of American Independence our development has been so spontaneous, and for the last third of that time so rapid, that we have not thought it necessary, or taken time to plan for the permanency of our institutions through an intelligent and forward-looking program of nation-building. So consumed were they, keeping pace with our material progress, that the nation's leaders, statesmen and political economists failed to observe the signs of the times with their indications of our national trend, and provide for constructive measures that would safeguard the future of the country.

Our early history was shaped largely by those fundamental principles inherent in the life of the people, the character and force of which were sufficient to settle issues as they arose. This sufficed so long as the nation's ways were simple, and there was a pre-eminence of those qualities that could be counted upon for the public good; but when our life began to take on its complex character and genius became largely devoted to profit-making enterprises these innate forces were subverted. Material ambition, meanwhile, disregarding national concerns heaped governmental burdens upon the republic with no care for the solu-

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tion of these problems; correspondingly, the rival political parties became more obsessed of the desire for power, often reflecting the wishes of the exploiters of the country, rather than becoming the champions of some urgent cause in the interest of the people. The youthful virility of the nation alone saved it from disaster.

WAR-TIME AMERICANISM

The war into which we were obliged to enter called a halt in our reckless course, forcing us to reckon with the actual conditions and consider our future in the light of our present tendencies. A sudden alarm seized us; we were made to realize that this nation could not continue indefinitely its undeliberate course of the past, in which, by our consuming materialistic passion, basal matters of our nation's future were being disregarded, and conditions allowed to obtain, that in the course of time would become problems almost beyond solution and threaten the very foundations of the republic.

Among the gravest facts disclosed to us as handicapping our nation and threatening our power to determine our own internal affairs, was the large number of aliens in our midst who had never rendered any real decision toward America, many of whom still held to their native language and traditions and when put to the test manifested allegiance to their homeland, even some who had been with us for years as well as the more recent arrivals. "America first" had been adopted as a slogan to which most of these

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had nominally subscribed, but when it came to an actual choice between two countries, many were found to hold dearer the flag of their native land. Our people were slow to take this matter seriously, but once their eyes were open to the extent and peril of it, there was widespread alarm; they began to realize how dangerous to our nation's security were these conditions which we had so thoughtlessly allowed to fix themselves upon our national life.

With our entrance into the war there sprang up throughout the country a sharp distinction between avowed Americans and those who for any reason showed lack of loyalty to the nation when its freedom, independence and self-determination were at stake. In promoting the various interests by which our part in the war was supported, the constituency of every community was put on record as to its Americanism. Though people had been coming to us from every land for many years by hundreds of thousands per year, for the first time we undertook a great Americanization movement. It was an automatic movement that pushed us, in the creation of public sentiment and in the real purpose to undertake our task, further ahead in two years than we could have advanced under ordinary conditions in two decades.

The awakening to the German menace within as well as without our borders which aroused us to the defensive with all our national strength, also stirred us to safeguard ourselves against the permanent peril of our vast unamericanized aliens of whose possible treachery we had reason to be alarmed.

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We are now facing the task of accomplishing in as short a time as possible what we should have been doing gradually across a period of thirty to fifty years, which covers the time in which nearly all of our more uncertain types have been coming to us.

THE AMERICAN HABIT OF HASTE

Every vital problem in America is always in danger of superficial treatment. The mad pace set in modern business development has become a kind of national fever; the get-rich-quick idea carries with it the disposition to solve all our problems quickly that we may get back to our normal course of money-making.

There is also a readiness to apply to everything the idea of organization. This age is so mechanical, and we do such wonderful things by the high pressure of cleverly ordered mechanism that scarcely any problem, however remote its nature from susceptibility to such treatment, escapes an attack by a scheme suddenly and especially devised for its solution.

As a people accustomed to things on a large scale we are apt to give attention to matters that are spectacular, to the thing that is paramount for today, taking little time in our haste to discover those matters that may produce a new paramount issue tomorrow. We do not consider the relation of other problems to the one directly before us and the necessity of giving consideration to them in order to make our solution permanent. As a result of these habits

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our reforms often go backward, are shallow because of haste, or react because forced by methods of high pressure. Among the problems now demanding immediate attention which are imperilled by these practices, that of Americanization with its stubbornness and its dangers from reaction is perhaps the most crucial.

We are bound to suffer through the demoralization of those rich influences for human betterment such as came out of the war with its lessons and experiences, because of determination to carry over into the era of peace much of the high pressure organizational policy operated forcefully during that strenuous period when everything gave way before any movement that had for its end the winning of the war. We do not seem to learn easily, that plans that worked for the ends of war will not necessarily operate in peace for human development. Much of the temper that makes for effectiveness in war, works for destructiveness or perversion in time of peace. We have a cumbersome and handicapping heritage from the war period, which from the national headquarters down through state, city and town, shows tenacious purpose to hold over.

The "drive" plan which became such a habit in war time fits into the tense organizational spirit of business dealing with things material, and can be used to some extent in dealing with people if all that is wanted is a subscription, or a consent to join an organization or be counted on a certain side. Citizens are not made by mere consent, but by free volun-

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tary decision. When in war time we assumed this high pressure method we did it not to make Americans but to put uncertain persons on record; we had to know "who's who." It was not that in this crowding we expected to make citizens, but to determine who was slacking and who was camouflaging in the name of America; this was then justifiable, it was an emergency, the nation's life was at stake. Such a method, however, has no justification in the permanent work of Americanization in normal times, and any attempt by organizations to use it will be disastrous to the vital task before us.

This problem is not one to be attacked with haste. It is too difficult and delicate, too importantly related to the various phases of our life, and such a determining factor in the immediate and ultimate future of our nation that it demands the patient, patriotic attention of our ablest statesmen aided by our departmental experts together with the broadest educators of the nation, and should not be left to those of doubtful vision, nor be so neglected by those city, state and national representatives of institutions whose responsibility it properly is, and whose relation to it is normal and regular, that it has to be assumed by those who have no natural relation to the accomplishment of such a task.

THE LARGER CONCEPTION OF AMERICANIZATION

Fundamentally, the process of Americanization consists of three parts,—education, assimilation and naturalization.

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Education should include a knowledge of the language, history, customs, institutions and form of government with its aims, sufficient to enable the alien to understand and appreciate the country, so that he may become intelligently devoted to its interests; the process of assimilation should bring these people into such vital sympathy with those who are the true representatives of America in life and spirit, that they will spontaneously conform to the same standards, partake of the same spirit and be stirred by the same appeals of patriotism; while naturalization is the formal recognition of the rights of citizenship conferred upon the alien, giving him the same privileges as inhere with the native born. This is the logical order; we cannot make reliable citizens of these people until they are intelligent with regard to American principles and customs through the use of the language in which these essentials are breathed; nor can we trust to their loyalty unless upon their own initiative they become in spirit and practice a vital part of our actual constituency.

But for those who would be leaders in this movement there must be a larger conception born of a vision that takes in the scope of the task and the meaning of its accomplishment. A vision that sees the alien as he is with his inherent bent, the background of his life, the forces that environ him and hold him where he is, the larger world of American relations into which he is to be fitted, the conditions that must be shaped to bring about his complete transplanting, and the influences necessary to the cultiva-

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tion in him of a spontaneous American spirit. American citizens are not made they are born. It is the duty of our nation to furnish conditions for this birth so that these new citizens will think and feel and act in the terms of America and be able to say "I too am an American."

If there is not inherent with these people a potential motive and spirit that correspond in some degree to that in those who earlier on these shores gave birth to those institutions to which they and their posterity have been devoted, then there is not within them that which will likely ever make them true and dependable Americans; and we do our nation an injustice to crowd these aliens into a nominal acceptance of American citizenship.

The larger conception takes into consideration the psychology of Americanization, without which no one should expect to become a leader or director of so human a problem. Some seem to face this task much as the old-time dogmatic preacher was accustomed to secure converts, by holding over them the terrors of the law, or according to the method of certain modern revivalists, of putting folks through a course of manœuvres and then tagging them as converts, as though any one in real heart devotion ever turned about in views and purposes until he turns himself about, or becomes a new man other than by an appeal to his entire consciousness and a response on his own initiative.

These are days of special emphasis upon the freedom of the will and self-determination, and these

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ideas have found their way into the crudest races. This self-determination principle must have large consideration because many of these people cannot distinguish readily between our purpose to have them adapt themselves to our customs, and the domination over their lives of those autocratic forces which in coming here they thought to escape.

The writer was present at a conference under direction of a specialist in Americanization in one of our great universities. The discussion was about textbooks usable with these aliens of various grades and types; there seemed to be few yet written that were adaptable. After the professor had reviewed a number with qualified commendation, it was refreshing to have him name and commend with enthusiasm a book not written to serve such an end, but which he declared by far the most valuable publication he had seen for purposes of Americanization. This book chapter by chapter is a ringing appeal to young Americans emphasizing their heritage and responsibility. It stirs all the latent potential Americanism within one, and calls not for perfunctory conformity to customs, but for heart devotion and active service for one's country. It is such an appeal as reaches to the depth of one's nature, and gains response in spontaneous and genuine Americanism.

We cannot make American citizens of our aliens by formal educational programs. We can only set before them the American ideal and secure a consistency of practical conditions to correspond to these ideals, and trust to their potential Americanism to

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bring them into a new life relation that will make them actual partakers of all that America stands for, and ready participants in all that America purposes.

In listening to discussions at Americanization Conferences one sometimes has the impression that a large majority of those engaged or interested in the work, have not comprehended it beyond the mere idea of teaching English, and American ways to alien groups, and getting them to take out their papers and become citizens, regardless of their voluntary disposition.

The process of Americanization must be given comprehensive and thorough consideration; it should not be a thing of secondary moment to be handled hurriedly nor should it be left to the voluntary activities of societies or individuals, or become an incidental feature of our educational program to be conducted without uniformity or wise guidance. It must be recognized as a long, tedious, painstaking task into which the element of time must enter and not something to be hurriedly forced through by pressure. We shall be obliged to give quite as much time to bringing about conditions favorable to its evolution, as to plans seeking its direct accomplishment.

We cannot expect to take hold of a situation that we have allowed to develop for half a century, until it has become quite the habit to think of our alien condition as a fixed state of things, and clean it up in a given period of time by forceable measures. To do so would be like going through a garden with a determination to rid the soil of every weed regardless of the crop that is growing, and for the better de-

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velopment of which it is desired to clear the ground; such a process is likely to take with it a large measure of the good as well as the bad. There is so much of ignorance and of misleading at present among these people, that it is dangerous to make too great haste lest we shall proceed against false notions and misunderstandings and not only do many of these aliens an injustice but also give the work itself a real setback. There are reports and complaints of this already from foreign districts.

The Vicar of a church in a dense Italian quarter of one of our large cities writing recently in criticism of present methods of Americanization refers to the large number of Italians who are returning or about to return to their native land, and attributes much of this to the crowding policy of Americanizers during and since the war. He says, "With good intentions and proper motives hundreds of civic, philanthropic and private organizations realizing it was the right time to assimilate the foreign elements dwelling in America have gone forth with flying banners and jazz bands to the conquest — every time a new center for Americanization has been opened in an Italian quarter it has aroused the same feeling that a Catholic mission to convert heretics arouses when started in a Protestant quarter or vice versa—The immigrant reads in his local newspaper translated into his own language articles written to 'make' him an American, he hears of committees organized to 'turn' aliens into Americans — Why emphasize this point,

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why advertise it — it is wrong to give the campaign the flavor of coercion.”

It is highly important that we go about this task without delay and with determination to accomplish the purpose, but not without foresightedness that considers the problem in all its bearings upon the future of the nation.

The only kind of people that will make real American citizens whether native or alien are those who are “born Americans,” that is, who are by inherent desires and disposition potential Americans. There are those who, though born and reared in gross darkness remote from such national ideals, have in them the longings and aspirations that correspond to the basic principles and spirit of Americanism, awaiting only an appeal and an avenue for its expression in devotion to such a country. Perhaps a majority are so constituted, but many are speedily perverted by the misleadings of the discontented or their own observations of our national inconsistencies.

Americanism is not a form, it is a spirit. It is manifest not by signs and symbols, but by earnest, spontaneous devotion such as was so much in evidence during the strenuous period of the war, when there was not a real American so dead he did not feel and say, “This is my own,” (even if not), “my native land.”

A few days ago the writer witnessed an exhibition of spontaneous Americanism on old Boston Common, the gathering place of all Boston’s mixed nationalities today even as it was The Common for those of earlier

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times. The band at its noon-day concert had sounded the first notes of the national air; instantly an Italian boy of fourteen or fifteen arose, and removing his cap stood with profound respect facing toward the music. Scattered over the park within sight were hundreds of other boys and men who had halted and stood likewise; they were largely boys and men of foreign birth, yet they were moved by the spirit of America which had fused with their spirits; it was a manifestation of the natural Americanism that responds to the glorious things represented in our flag. About the only persons who remained seated were some apparently degenerate natives, who though born under the flag had never awakened to an appreciation of their own country.

One day during a war drive in a mid-western city a large company of some Slav race had formed themselves in line and marched in a drenching storm of sleet in honor of the country of their adoption which was now fighting for the self-determination of all peoples, as well as for its own defense. These were signs of Americanization that had not come so much by plans and programs as by an appeal to that potential Americanism in the mixed nationalities and in the remote race to whom by contrast America stands supreme among the nations.

When aliens by their own initiative give evidence of Americanization that cannot be questioned, because on all occasions its spirit is manifest, they may safely be inducted into formal citizenship.

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Naturalization accompanied by the right state of mind, will not be the perfunctory, stupid and uncertain thing it often is, when men seek it under pressure through persuasion, or to their personal advantage. It will be a moment of significant transition reached on the alien's own responsibility and by his own initiative, an independent choice that makes him proud. Such is possible, such is true of no inconsiderable number of those who through the years have come to the realization of their dreams in this land that corresponds to the pent-up desires of their hearts. To such, naturalization is like being born again, it carries with it the true meaning of the term which conveys the idea, not of a mechanical change but a natural change, in the direction of one's truest self.

Naturalization means to be habituated, and one does not habituate by formal consent, but by inner compulsion. When an alien shows signs of habituating himself by his own initiative to American customs by an American spirit he is a fit subject for the honors and responsibilities entrusted to a citizen of this country.

THE DANGER OF NATURALIZATION CAMPAIGNS

It is high time that some plan is developed for a proper handling of aliens in the course of their naturalization. We can scarcely hope to make more than the most nominal kind of Americans of the great majority of those who pass through the perfunctory order of naturalization. Only those who were naturally imbued with the American idea would work their

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way to intelligent and responsible citizenship. Growing out of the war we have had campaigns for Americanism and Americanization more or less definite in many places; and there has been a disposition upon the part of many hitherto indifferent who expect to remain here to get under the flag lest the straight Americanism sentiment should eliminate them.

To show the rate at which naturalization has been advancing during the period of the world war, Mr. Raymond F. Crist, Director of Citizenship in the Department of Labor, gives out the following figures: "In the fiscal year 1910 there were 222,264 applicants for first and second papers. In 1913 there were 276,818. In 1915 there were 354,132. In 1917 there were 571,068 and in 1918, 509,478. In the present fiscal year, commencing July 1, 1918, 528,273 naturalization papers were filed during the first nine months and this indicates about 650,000 for the year." This may seem to some a hopeful sign, but when we reflect upon it we must question whether there may not be as much peril as safety in this great number of naturalizations, since a large per cent of these aliens are coming for citizenship on various grounds other than a spontaneous desire to be one with the citizenship of this country.

We ought to weigh well our methods of making citizens. A Chamber of Commerce in one of our great cities has recently announced in the press its comprehensive and determined campaign for Americanization of all aliens in the city. The very announcement is an unsafe procedure. The plan set forth if

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used as a means of getting alien groups in touch with American ideals, educating them in our customs, and cultivating in them a wholesome attitude toward the nation, without an announcement of making citizens of them, leaving that to take a natural course, might be effective as a preliminary to citizenship. The real crux of this whole Americanization proposition is not to secure these as citizens but to bring about their Americanization. Then they will naturally become citizens. There is danger that in naturalization campaigns we may secure citizens who are not truly Americanized citizens and we have enough of these already.

Such campaigns if conducted at all are relieved of much of their possible danger by such a policy as obtains in the city of Lawrence, Mass. A few years ago Mr. Cornelius F. Sullivan, Master of the Oliver Grammar School of that city, organized a naturalization school which is conducted in connection with the night-school sessions for the purpose of aiding those seeking citizenship and to guarantee to the city and the nation a more intelligent and thorough Americanization of those who pass from aliens to citizens. This has been conducted with much satisfaction and is a plan to be commended to every city. It is made a regular course with special lecture features added, and concludes with examination, graduation, and a diploma given by the Bureau of Naturalization in connection with the public school authorities.

The great need of our nation at present is not for more citizens but for better citizens. And the most

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important concern in this matter of Americanization is not the number of naturalizations we secure but the degree to which we transform this great alien contingent from an element of national care and uncertainty into a national asset by virtue of a genuine change of spirit and purpose; for in the language of Mr. Roosevelt we must "see that the crucible turns our people out as Americans of American nationality and not as dwellers in a polyglot boarding-house."

CHAPTER II

The Nation's Task of Unification

THE first settlers of this country had little difficulty in securing a common aim; small numbers and perilous conditions overcame any differences that may have arisen; in the common struggle for defense and livelihood they grew together. As the nation developed, the dominant strain of life with its principles brought other elements into harmony with these fundamental purposes. The contest for Independence made the nation a unit against old-world interference, and later the conflict within the nation determined once for all by what fundamental principles we should be governed. Thus by the first struggle this became a self-determining nation, by the second a united nation.

THE GROWTH OF THE IMMIGRANT PROBLEM

Up to this time the increase of population from other countries had been so gradual and so largely from those parts of Europe akin to us in principles and institutions, and to a large extent in language, that the natural current of our life with its objective was not seriously interfered with. We assimilated such as came without much thought of how we were doing it. Had our growth continued to be

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supplied from these sources and with no more rapid flow, few of whom segregated, goodly numbers settling in rural regions and aiding in our agricultural development, the alien problem would never have seriously disturbed our peaceful progress.

When our extensive development began through our widening national area, and our industrial programs were inaugurated through the inventions of modern genius, and the march of American commercial enterprise was begun, a new element was introduced into the problems to be determined by the republic. Until this time our additions had been chiefly from the United Kingdom and from Germany, a large per cent of the latter becoming pioneers in agricultural settlements. The highest numbers of immigrants through these years came during a period in the early fifties and another in the early seventies when they reached the high marks of about 425,000, to 450,000 respectively; but this only covered a few years in each instance, and the numbers fluctuated greatly. The highest number reached up to 1840 was about 100,000 and the average from then until about 1880 was not much more than 200,000 per year.

Until this time the character of our population had scarcely been changed, Western Europe furnishing nearly all the influx. Thus far Austria Hungary had sent as its largest quota about 8000, Italy and Russia about the same, while the smaller eastern countries are not reported. Suddenly, a new and mighty stream came pouring in upon us; for twenty

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years and more previous to the great world war the tide changed and the influx was from Southern and Eastern Europe, until in 1907 when our immigration reached its high-water mark of about 1,300,000. Austria, Italy and Russia furnished the enormous number of 883,000 of these, to say nothing of those who came from the smaller countries of the Far East. These have come with an entirely different background, with traditions and customs remotest from ours and with literacy at an amazingly low mark.

During the period covering this mighty influx, labor assumed its organized form, asserted its rights, and our national problems took on a new phase; aliens were often encouraged to denounce the government which was as yet reluctant to recognize the claims of labor. These conditions gathered great force until at times they threatened us with difficult internal conditions. When the war broke out it probably diverted, though only temporarily, a serious crisis fast overtaking the nation, now filled with widespread elements of discontent ready to revolutionize against the prevailing order. The war awakened us to a keener sense of the grip of this problem, which situation has become even more crucial, due to the degree to which the government yielded to labor in war emergency. Those who think that this nation can slip back to the easy-going way of depending upon the automatic operation of our national forces to safeguard us, have little idea of the mighty task now before us.

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FORESIGHTEDNESS IN LEADERSHIP

It is doubtless wise in a democracy to allow large play to those spontaneous elements that shape a nation's life, putting the absolutely coercive forces to the front as little as possible; but this does not mean that we get on without leadership and direction, for only by farsighted leadership can the spontaneous forces of democracy be trusted to safeguard the nation. It was the wise forethought of real statesmanship in our earlier history that brought into being the public school system of this country, foreseeing the inevitable peril to freedom, of illiteracy in state and nation.

The Constitution of Massachusetts adopted in 1780 (said to be the oldest Constitution now in force) reads: "Wisdom and knowledge as well as virtue diffused generally among the body of the people being necessary for the preservation of the rights and liberties and these depend upon the opportunities and advantages of education — it shall be the duty of legislature and magistrates to cherish the interests of literature and sciences, and all the seminaries of them; especially the University of Cambridge, public schools and grammar schools in the towns." The wise observation of men who saw governmental responsibility in assuming to provide against the future, laid the foundation for this popular and expedient institution that more than any other one factor has been not only the safeguard of the nation but its guiding influence.

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This matter of Americanization is quite as important now, as was the situation facing those who foresaw the perils of illiteracy to a nation then in its infancy. Indeed it is more critically urgent, for here we have, not a population coming along gradually, to be met and dealt with by a correspondingly expanding system of education, but the accumulation of a half century covering the period in which our nation has had its largest development, including the bulk of our immigration with nearly all the more dangerous elements, together with a segregated condition of these masses that makes them unwieldy and almost impenetrable.

This task educationally, and otherwise, is made the more difficult not merely by these being packed in our city districts, but also because they are badly distributed so far as the whole country is concerned, located in certain sections instead of being distributed throughout the state and the several states, to be cared for through the normal agencies in the various units of our public school system by states, counties and towns by which divisions the machinery functions. They are, rather, packed in city and industrial center districts, and confined largely to states, and sections of states, requiring an almost impossible task in reaching, teaching and influencing them toward actual assimilation. To add to the stubbornness of the situation we have racial and traditional tendencies to contend with, which are kept up with more or less deliberate determination, the mother tongue is spoken, not only in the home but

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in the church, and is further nurtured through the foreign language press which, whether loyal or not, so long as it makes itself a permanent institution rather than an agency for the period of transition, acts as a further barrier to Americanization.

Furthermore there is the perverting influence of those who keep our alien elements animated against the government through persistent agitation and organized propaganda, not only prejudicing them, but actually obstructing the efforts of those who seek to interest these foreigners in the country with which they have cast their lot.

NATIONAL VS. SECTIONAL INTEREST

It is safe to say that never in our history have we witnessed such an exhibition of a united people presenting a solid front with a single aim and policy as during the stress of the recent war. There may be those who justly claim that the emergency power committed to the Executive and the departments under him, was abused to a degree, and that the nation will be slow to grant again such unlimited authority; nevertheless, we saw what a nation of our proportions can do in meeting a great issue with unity of aim and program. This has done much to bring our whole country together to view and act with unity on great issues that are national.

"States' rights" have been jealously defended in all our history and properly so, for this vast nation with sections so widely separated cannot be cared for

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by centralization of government regardless of sectional considerations. When an easterner has crossed the Rockies he feels as if he were in another country, not from the Californian's estimate of its superiority only, but inevitably so by the vast distances and towering barriers. We are bound to concede that these people living in this great state, a little empire by itself looking out over the opposite ocean, facing the setting instead of the rising sun, have interests that can only be wisely cared for by their own councils. However, when it comes to certain issues they are dependent upon the larger government, and their local power to determine their general needs must be merged in the great national interests even for their own defense. They are much concerned now over the Japanese peril and are eager to have the national government committed to their interests, for their sense of security depends upon this. It was inspiring to note some months since when visiting the army camps of the country, that one felt the same response to the appeal for a strong nationalism in San Francisco at the Presidio guarding the Golden Gate, as at Governors Island beside the Statue of Liberty at the opposite entrance to our country; for the same flag blown by the Pacific breezes and unfurled over the battleships of San Diego Harbor, floated from the ships of Massachusetts Bay. The nation was a unit for the defense of California and the defense of Maine and all that lay between.

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A larger measure of unity is desirable in this matter of Americanization, in justice to each section, in view of the wide discrepancies in the distribution of the foreign elements in the several divisions of the country, for this is a national problem, regardless of the comparative freedom of some sections from alien population.

It is not so easy to impress the people of Arkansas, whose report is that "there are practically no foreigners in the State," with the importance of Americanism, as it is the people of Massachusetts, where one third of the population is foreign born, another third of foreign parentage, leaving only one third of native stock for the leavening of the alien masses.

Not long after our entrance into the war, while urging an immediate response to the country's call in some remote districts of the middle west, the writer was amazed, having gone from the Atlantic coast where we were looking for German submarines every morning and were thoroughly aroused, to witness the indifference of these people who were not yet awake, and were still in the grip of the sectional feeling of safe remoteness from war and its perils. It was not until the unifying power of the federal government reached them with the selective draft, that they became alive to the national situation.

Every section of this great country is dependent upon some other. The farmers of the west and some parts of the middle west may not be immediately affected by many things that interest industrial New

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England or other industrial regions, nor are the people in these sections so directly interested in a matter like the Non-Partisan League of North Dakota or any matter of intense local interest to these agricultural sections, yet fundamentally and vitally the interests of one are the interests of all. The industrial masses depend upon these farmers for their living and its cost, while those farmers in turn are dependent upon the industrial masses for the outlet for their products and the prices that they receive.

EDUCATIONAL UNITY FOR AMERICANISM

It may not be possible and perhaps not desirable to have absolute educational uniformity throughout the nation, but it is highly essential that we have educational unity, for only thus can we have a real nationalism and a common Americanism.

We shall be obliged to learn much by experiment in this field of Americanization because our general neglect of its seriousness and importance makes it, to a large extent, a new field for civic and educational leaders. While we are gaining this experience, however, we should establish certain fundamental national policies to bring about the largest effectiveness in the work, and that it may be understood among the leaders and impressed upon the alien and the general public that this is a national task taken hold of with a national purpose. This is an educational work pre-eminently for the public schools. In

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these we have a nation-wide system well established and well ordered. A system that reaches into every settlement from the most congested group of diverse races in the city foreign quarters, to the scattered groups on the remotest frontier.

This comprehensive system furnishes an immediate, intelligent, direct and effective agency for reaching the alien both young and old with the English language and the fundamentals of Americanism. Already some states have passed legislation committing the Americanization task to the direction of its public schools, where it fittingly belongs. We need a uniform national policy in Americanization because selfish interest in education will preclude Americanization in many communities where the need is not pronounced. There are people whose only interest in public education is the fact that it will place their children at better life advantage, its patriotic value rarely concerns them, hence if the unamericanism of their community presents no menacing aspect they will be slack in considering it a part of their educational responsibility; only personal and sectional interests press the majority of people except in an actual crisis.

A common purpose in Americanism is essential to the clearing up of the seven or eight percent of illiteracy, the revelation of which in the army draft was a startling surprise; we had scarcely given it consideration as having any serious effect upon our national standards, but when a good sized army of our young men were unable to read their orders

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and it became necessary to set up a program of primary education in every army camp in the country, we began to realize its import. Illiteracy is a kind of unamericanism, and if it is not so positively dangerous as some forms it makes for backwardness and inefficiency which reduces the general tone and status of the nation.

Some of the states which have considered legislation on Americanization unnecessary and have reported that their state is soundly American have a large percent of illiteracy. North Carolina, for instance, has only one half of one percent alien population yet its illiteracy is eighteen percent. These conditions exist in some of these states because they are a law unto themselves and have not been concerned to rid themselves of this menace which is now manifesting itself with new force. Ignorance is good soil in which to sow the seeds of disorder and from which dangerous conditions may quickly spring, as is now being evidenced among the negro population.

A uniform policy would not only clear up our unamericanism, but would make for a more intensive Americanism generally. Up to the time of the war we had a large number of native Americans who had never taken citizenship seriously. The prosperous peaceful years had developed an easy-going "don't-care" air among our young people which became infectious and was altogether too general to make secure a nation whose government is dependent upon the common ballot. This spirit was in evidence

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even through the most tragic days of the war, when it was necessary to secure funds for war work by appealing through entertainments and other means, so lacking were numbers of our people in response to a straightforward appeal to patriotism.

We cannot expect to generate intelligent interest in the nation, much less responsibility in citizenship, with these foreign born, unless there is a real spirit of patriotism among our own with whom these aliens mingle and who become examples to them. There is a certain kind of respect for national authority and national demands which has been ground into most of these aliens by the harsh policies of government control to which they were previously accustomed; if they lose the entire force of this through a lightness of consideration of national matters upon the part of our own people they are liable to go to the extreme of turning irresponsibility into license, to treat the government without respect of any kind; this is manifest in much of the foreign element revolutionary tendency among us.

If we secure the formal acceptance by these aliens of our national creed but fail to impress them with the American spirit and an American conviction of national obligation we may lose to them and to the nation the most important characteristics of Americanism. This we can do only by a manifest intensive Americanism of our own.

The war must have taught the most skeptical of us of the value to our young men of military training. The writer, who with many others had not been

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quite certain previous to the war as to whether universal military training were wholly advisable, was thoroughly convinced of its value after his observations of our boys and a careful study of its effects everywhere in the camps. He saw such numbers of young men of hitherto slack, indifferent manners brace up and assume the stature and seriousness of responsible manhood that he believes universal military training is not only desirable but essential to the proper attitude and spirit upon the part of a very large percent of our young men; and if there are those who do not need it, let them take it with others for the sake of those who do, for it is also a splendid democratizing influence.

Some of us may have had fears of making our boys, and hence our nation, militaristic; of that fear we ought also to have been fully disabused. Nothing was more apparent among these men, both those who had remained in training and those who had felt the throb of the war spirit at the very front lines of battle, than that they were not and never could be made militarists; it is not in our blood, or our national atmosphere or any of the ideals of our government. We do need something to give our young men a sense of national obligation; somehow they seem to get this under this training as nowhere else. Here too, our alien boys find their best training in Americanism, one could not fail to notice this in the training places, and here the native born and the alien come into touch on a strictly American level.

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Most important of all reasons for national educational unity is the necessity of a uniform standard of Americanism in every part of the country. We saw the force of this when federal authority had to be used to unify our standards as well as our aims. But when we attempted this, we discovered what a decided difference there was in sections and communities as to the real interpretation of Americanism and the degree to which it should be emphasized. This was due to some extent to the large proportion of foreigners, and of those of foreign antecedents, as well as a certain provincialism which characterizes some parts of the country. It was necessary to use great pressure in some places and to carry the ideals and spirit of one neighborhood into another in order to impress, much more inspire these, with staunch Americanism.

This was due in a measure to the fact that sections and communities are largely a law unto themselves unless some nationalistic crisis arises, and such had not occurred in any large way since our national independence. It is not strange therefore that we met with these conditions. This war drew the international lines, and called for a complete line-up on American standards. It also made necessary a real interpretation of American ideals, and today we have a clearer conception of what America stands for upon the part of our rank and file than ever obtained before. As a result our aliens have something to guide them, some standard by which to go.

This is necessary; we should not have a northern

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standard and a southern that opposes or modifies it. Nor provincialisms or localisms that are colored by influences that if not averse to strict Americanism are not positively American. Though we get on most agreeably with our adopted Canadians, there should be no section or community so dominated by them consciously or unconsciously that Americanism is modified by British customs, nor should we have anywhere such absence of Americanism as was found in a border Texas county seat where the predominance of Mexicans caused the county records, so the writer was told, to be kept in the Mexican language, or a city like El Paso with fifty per cent or more of its population Mexicans, few of whom are naturalized, so that this city would be unsafe except by defense of an army post, not merely because it is the gateway between the countries but because its population is not American.

When the war began we found it necessary to put into effect a system that combed our country from corner to corner in order to secure us against the perils of communities and individuals of questionable Americanism. These conditions obtained not only among the large alien groups but communities unsuspected were found to be doubtful. We need a uniform standard of Americanism that will determine continuously the status of every alien, and any other doubtful person within our borders, and provide through uniform educational measures for the citizenization of these by their own choice, or automatically eliminate them from our country.

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There ought to be national legislation to secure a fundamentally uniform order of instruction and control or guidance of schools in regard to strict Americanism, not as a temporary expediency nor as a special feature to be treated with care or otherwise according to the disposition of those in local control or the sentiment that happens to prevail in a given community; a matter that affects the nation as a nation, that is treason, or may lead to treason should have some check against the sentiment of any local constituency within the nation.

Two years ago the writer found in a little town at a very remote point in a great state, a public school, for the time being, at least, almost entirely under pro-German control, with principal, several teachers, and chairman of the school board hedging on strict Americanism, opposing measures to show up Germany in the war, and very outspoken against anything that reflected upon Germany or those who championed her side; and this while we were making a great national sacrifice to defend ourselves against German oppression. This was a sample of many cases of similar color throughout the country. People of German antecedents were not a large number in this neighborhood, but this particular chairman was German born, and, chancing to be the wealthiest man in the town many people had been under obligation to him, hence he virtually dictated the situation, and nothing was done until outside influence had aroused the people whose sons were fighting against Germany, while the public school was, to say the

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least, non-committal on the subject. In no place in our country should our public school be subject to such local control with no possible interference, or check, or be such an absolute law unto itself. Our schools are making citizens not only for their own town but for the state and the nation.

Through the public school agencies there should be the largest possible degree of uniformity in the operation of night schools or whatever other sessions may be provided for this purpose in keeping with the unamerican and illiterate need of the district. A census of every district should be made to ascertain the total unamericanized and some policy adopted to secure their attendance. There is no reason why a compulsory order should not obtain for all young persons who are living permanently in this country for their training in true Americanism. The state of New York has already enacted a law to this purpose.

It is true we do not want to crowd or coerce in this work; but if we make Americanization not a feature dealing with alien conditions only, through independent processes, but rather, as has been contended, a part of the natural order of making a nation dealing with native and alien alike, it cannot be objected to that we make these plans to an essential extent compulsory. In most states we compel our native boys and girls to attend the public school or some school equivalent, for their own welfare and for the safety of the nation against illiteracy.

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In compelling these aliens to do the equivalent, especially if we put it on a level with, and as a part of our nation's purpose in education, we are preparing them to be an acquisition and not a burden to the nation of which they are to be a part, and we are also establishing an automatic force for assimilation which will greatly hasten this work and ensure its thoroughness.

Americanization work in shops should also be under the direction of the public school authorities and agencies. This of course must be in co-operation with the employers or companies but not left to their discretion or direction. There is at present considerable work being done in our industrial establishments in various ways; some by the firms themselves, some by outside agencies through co-operation or consent of firms. This is and may continue to be worth while but it is not systematic or in any degree uniform and lacks the authorization from national or state sources to give it force or cause it to be taken with sufficient seriousness. It is altogether too vital to be risked to these incidental plans and agencies. It leaves it too much to the favorable or unfavorable disposition of the industrial concerns or the interest of local institutions or individuals. By this incidental policy some shops would be untouched and it is just as important that the people in one shop should be reached as those in another. To unify this work by putting it all in the charge of regular official educational agencies would assure its thoroughness and give it a measure of uniformity and a nationalistic tone which

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makes for Americanism. Such a provision is made by the new legislation on Americanization in the state of New York.

If the new federal provision for vocational training and the proposed federal policy of Americanization could be a vital part of the public school system subject to federal jurisdiction in the smallest possible degree, so that there would be neither independence nor controversy but all a fundamental unit in aim and policy, these could be of tremendous value, especially with the younger of the industrial elements, in bringing about in the most natural way a large degree of Americanism among the aliens in industry.

THE IMPORTANCE AND SCOPE OF AMERICANIZATION AS AN EDUCATIONAL TASK

There is nothing more creditable to the American people than the interest they manifest in and the extent of their devotion to educational matters. Besides our universal public school system, the pains taken for teacher preparation through our widely established normal training schools, the great state universities, and in many states agricultural colleges, all supported freely by taxation, we have our fine array of special educational institutions of every order, endowed by the people, as supplementary advantages, to give our nation the ideals and the atmosphere for the richest possible life development, and as a sure means of enlightenment sufficient to make safe, government by all the people.

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In this broad and general sense every means necessary would seem to have been provided to make impossible a dangerous condition of illiteracy and un-americanism among us. Nevertheless, the last census of 1910 gives the illiterate population of this country as five and half million; this was undoubtedly increased to a considerable extent during the period following up to 1914 when about five million immigrants were added. We have therefore an illiterate population more than equal to the total of the six New England states. It is true that over three and a half million, or more than one-half of these are native born and of native parentage, more than two million of whom are negroes; this however does not modify but perhaps adds to the real unamericanizing and degenerative forces of the nation. There are seven or eight million who do not speak the language of America, enough to furnish the full New England quota with a half dozen of our less populous western states added; and in this land with government by the people more than two million voters are still illiterate or a number equal to all the voters of the New England states with Kansas added.

With about 17,000,000 people who were born in other lands it ought to be clear to every earnest and interested American that the impartation of American principles and the injection of the American spirit to the extent of bringing this vast world mixture into vital hearty relations with America is an educational task that demands that we lift it entirely from the level of incidental care to the place of dig-

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nity it should hold, and put behind it the best constructive educational forces of the nation and give to it the nation's standardization and the nation's backing.

At an Americanization conference which the writer attended, while there were a goodly number of well-informed persons, there was also a considerable number, perhaps half of those present, whose interest was largely sentimental and whose effort in the direction of Americanization would at most be of uncertain value if not harmful. At times when certain speakers gave utterance to more or less sentimental views, these were noted by their responsiveness. Whatever of value such people may be to this work they should be a contributory not a leading or directing influence.

It is reported that only about 34 per cent of the teachers hitherto engaged in Americanization were trained. There is no possible justification for a nation that gives such attention to education as a whole, to leave this very difficult and delicate work to any except those prepared in the most efficient ways.

One very able superintendent of schools, in a city whose very name stands for learning, remarked that this was a work for women, that only women with their sympathetic spirit were fitted for it, and must be looked upon as a kind of missionary task. While there are no doubt some phases of this work to which women are especially adapted, and while it is a piece of missionary work from a certain point of view, it is not to be considered, according to the old-fashioned Sunday school idea, that anyone who by sympathetic

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contact can hold a class together and make them all love her is necessarily a capable teacher or the kind of teacher the class should have to make the best men and women of them. One could not escape the feeling that this very capable superintendent who made these remarks, had not lifted the work of Americanization into the real realm of education as he understands and appreciates education in general, but regarded it as yet as an incidental matter with which we shall have to merely do the best we can. We **MUST** do the best we can, and we shall do this only by lifting the work to the level it deserves, in keeping with its urgency as a national task in education.

However, in stressing the importance of this as equal to our most vital educational responsibilities it should not be specialized as something extra and apart from our educational work as a whole. We have a habit, in America, as soon as any new problem arises and an extra task must be performed of immediately arranging a special order or creating a new department, disregarding existing orders of which the new issue may become a part and to which it is naturally related. This seems to be the disposition with regard to this task of Americanization. This policy so common among us tends to national distraction instead of unification.

It is to be questioned whether we should create an absolutely new and special department for this with full federal authority over and above the existing order in state, city or town. It would make an extra piece of government machinery of which various kinds

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of advantage might be taken, and which would be open to the danger of becoming a political affair to be managed by and in the interest of party politics. There were so many expressions of suspicion of, if not actual manifestations of partisan politics in special organizations created for war emergency, and so much discrediting of these, that any movement that is a new venture in promoting public interests growing out of or immediately following the period of war regime, is bound to be handicapped if placed under any federal division and open to manipulation from those in partisan administrative authority.

The great difficulty we have in bringing about reforms and correcting undesirable and dangerous conditions in this country at present, is not so much the inability to get legislation, but to keep that legislation free from those who would make use of it, or discredit it, for political profit. By making the work of Americanization a part of our established educational order, for which we have uniform standards, it does not make the alien feel that we are putting him in a class by himself and demanding of him what we do not demand of our own. If we can give the alien this conception we shall have done much to give force to our Americanizing efforts. This idea can be made to obtain much more easily if he discovers this task is in connection with and directed by those who have in hand the making of good citizens of the native as well as the foreign born.

This is fundamentally the business of making a nation, of which these people are to be as much a part

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as any others, therefore we should not make them feel that we are pushing a program of Americanization to save our nation from being despoiled by them, and that our education of them is like that of sending bad boys to reform schools. We are changing our reform schools to state schools to remove the stigma from the young people and in so doing remove a large part of the force that makes against goodness. The time will come, we hope, and it should be our aim, when no special institutions of this kind shall blight the lives of our youth, but when we shall, by special care through our regular school channels, save such boys and make in them ever after a stronger tendency toward the right.

California has introduced a very happy idea in teaching its foreign born our American fundamentals. It is emphasizing "the family tree of America." The plan is to have teachers make clear to the alien as well as to our own, that America is already a nation of many races, that even at the very beginning different peoples contributed to our life and later a still greater variety was added and that we have come to be a great mixed family who have learned to live happily and helpfully together because we have brought all our ideas and purposes into harmony with the national ideal and policy to which this nation's life is committed: and that through such mingling we have come to be the great nation that we are.

Such a plan in teaching brings the alien and native together, breaks down the barriers on both sides and paves the way for genuine wholesome assimilation.

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The impression we need to make is that American institutions are not merely to mould into an American groove and stamp with an American sign to accomplish an American purpose as such, but that Americanism means giving men and women of whatever race the largest chance by which their personal forces may come to their best, for the only way to make a great nation is to make great people for the nation. American history promises that our national principles and policy are capable of making such from among all the races.

This educational task is so vitally urgent that the health, if not the very life, of the nation depends upon it. It requires in its achievement not so much speed but the higher virtues of discernment, patience, persistence, and genuine devotion toward the future well-being of our nation.

While writing these sentences the evening paper comes to hand with an announcement that Congress has appropriated an additional amount of \$900,000 for the purpose of hunting down and clearing the nation of the treacherous elements that threaten our very lives as well as the nation's safety. Had we spent much smaller sums in years gone by to educate and Americanize those who are susceptible to alliance with such national offenders, we should have been free from this menace. Unless we spend the necessary money and give our most intelligent patriotic devotion toward a well-defined educational policy in Americanism, we shall not be able by offices of the Depart-

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ment of Justice to secure our nation against those who seek its destruction.

CONTRIBUTORY AGENCIES

Having contended for the policy of making our Americanization problem a task in education and bringing it under the direction of our public schools, the question naturally arises, what of the persons and agencies outside of these, who are interested in this work of Americanization and wish to assist in its accomplishment? Chambers of Commerce in our large cities have already done much and some are now organizing campaigns on a large scale; Women's Clubs, Settlements and Churches have studied the problem and in various degrees are active in furthering Americanization. One church has published a text-book for its young people in consideration of this issue.

Nation-making is a great task in civilization and no force that can lend assistance should be counted out. The policy of placing Americanization under the direction of the public schools in no way excludes individuals or organizations from rendering service in this field. It is the contention of the writer that all these agencies should be considered contributory and not governing or directing forces; this because of their lack of possible uniformity, their degree of uncertainty, and the absence of any official authority to give their work a national tone.

We have in our highly organized order of life gone far afield the real basis for a genuine democracy or

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successful representative government by the universal habit of magnifying identification with movements by representation in organizations, as the only effective way to serve public interests. We feel that our personal effort or influence is lost unless it is in some way an organized, announced or publicly identified effort. This makes our work more or less perfunctory, a programed thing, makes our influences for good spasmodic, and tends to eliminate the potential service of that great percent of the people of a community, generally a large majority of all, whose responsibility and assistance is not sought and whose value to society is greatly diminished and sometimes made negligible because they are not so organized or identified.

We need to learn that we can do things worth while by contributing to the sum total of a movement, by having a personal conviction, feeling and purpose, as well as by being a leader or a member of an organization. Democracy and representative government will never function effectively until we make way for a larger degree of spontaneity that will include all the people. These organizations and individuals have plenty of opportunity to support the officially ordered work of nation making; they can create public sentiment, can furnish neighborhood contact, can help to establish commercial and industrial practices, can provide atmosphere for a social order and in ways without number become integral forces in the nation's development and in the solution of its problems in keeping with its ideals; and all the intelligence they

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acquire and interest they possess will be felt in the specific task of Americanization.

This view and relation does not make for so much publicity or distinction but the great need of our country in the present hour is for plain citizens who are intelligent, loyal, self-sacrificing for the public good, who will as citizens exemplify Americanism and help to furnish those conditions by which the nation's safety, prosperity and progress are secured.

CHAPTER III

Eliminating the Handicaps of Americanism

IN all processes of development the principle of elimination must be reckoned with, else there can be no survival of the fittest. We cannot continue to be a great strong nation with qualities for world leadership unless by the dominance of the best; the dominance of those elements that represent the ideals by which this nation was begotten and by which so far, in spite of many threatening forces, it has kept its course and held its place until it has reached supremacy among the nations of the modern world.

The Germans expected to conquer the world believing their nation had evolved the fittest order to survive; but their assumptions were born chiefly of despotic ambitions and egotism that despised others. We base our right to place and power, on experience in government by a free people whose course has been that of a sincere folk seeking the best for themselves, but not at the expense of others. We have survived and triumphed and proven our right to do so; and that right we must retain by eliminating those principles and practices contrary to our aims, that we may best conserve and cultivate those things that have made us fittest to survive.

When a wise farmer undertakes the development of a farm that has been neglected, he does more than

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plow and plant and fertilize, he also watches closely the thriving weeds that choke and stunt the growth of his crops and threaten to appropriate the virtue of the earth. He seeks not only to hamper their growth but as early as possible to eliminate them from the soil. Not intentionally, but carelessly, through materialistic absorption, we have neglected to guard closely the growth of the perverting forces within our nation, and our lack of hearty red-blooded nationalism is due in no small measure to the choking influences of international elements not conducive to a rugged Americanism.

When we attempted to command our national life and resources to carry out the nation's decision in the recent war, we discovered to our amazement that Germany had for years been deliberately making inroads upon our independence, attempting to depreciate our standards, cleverly working in her own, trying to force the superiority of her civilization, and through her well-appointed agents was literally seeking to scuttle our nationalism while we were stupidly indifferent to her treacherous purposes.

We must awake to the fact that our nation may be undermined and her forces sapped by those within her gates, who, having every privilege of its freedom, assumes none of its responsibilities.

No one would have suspected that the German people, who have composed such a respectable contingent of our population, were being used in most subtle ways to break revolutionary forces upon our nation in a crisis that might arise; but those who had the

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opportunity of observing the extent and thoroughness of this, leading up to our participation in the war, are bound to be concerned about such future possibilities when we consider how near these schemes came to foisting a rebellion upon our nation in a most critical hour.

We have not had occasion heretofore in our history, to view these matters so seriously; our people have seemed to think we were largely absorbing the alien elements; but this war crisis has disclosed their potential force and the issue must now be squarely met or they will become increasingly bold in their perverse and destructive activities.

THE EXPULSION OF TREACHEROUS ELEMENTS

There can be little headway in the process of Americanization, particularly in our most difficult districts, until we clear the country of all anarchistic agitators. Anyone familiar with the history of the movement knows how largely responsible for the disturbances among aliens are those who will not permit the people to remain peaceful. These leaders can practically neutralize all efforts in Americanization among certain classes.

There has been some question as to whether we have sufficient legislation to deal with such cases; if not, we should have it at once, and it should be put into operation without delay for a complete house-cleaning on this line. There has been altogether too much temporizing with these people. When we find a de-

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liberate murderer among us we give him the limit of the law whether foreign or native born; why should there be so much tender-footedness in dealing with these most desperate national destroyers?

If criminals from our country were going to another and organizing bands of outlaws and murderers, or joining with such, we should not consider it an injustice to these offenders nor to our nation if they were forthwith returned to us. Why should this country be allowed to become the dumping-ground of the irresponsible and outlaws of Europe and the world, or the exploiting territory of those grafters and deceivers of the ignorant who keep our congested foreign districts on fire with the spirit of terrorism toward our nation.

We do not wish to operate our work of Americanization at the point of a pistol or to crowd it upon the aliens without appreciation or natural response upon their part. This is the land of the free, and democracies are not made safe by forcing obedience to custom; but those who plead for tolerance toward this destructive agitator class are encouraging conditions that make forceful measures all but necessary.

We want all those who have come for the opportunities our nation offers the oppressed, to continue to feel the advantage of our liberties, and become responsive to the spirit of America as thousands already have. This will never be possible as it should, while these disturbers are allowed to color, misrepresent, and continuously prejudice the alien against our government.

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The labor division of our nation is that section most vitally connected with our Americanization problem. By and through labor's constituency this work can be greatly advanced or handicapped. These agitators standing between labor and the national institutions, are quite as truly the enemies of labor as of the nation. They create the widest chasm between labor and capital, often going to an extent in their influence that turns public sentiment against labor and in so doing loses to labor its best support. Labor forfeits beyond recovery when, as in war time, men receiving fifty dollars per week went on a strike, while our soldiers were risking their lives in the trenches for a dollar a day. The great mass of soldiers will not soon forget that. Public sentiment will not approve a strike like the recent one in New York when vast food supplies were left to spoil at a time when food prices were unprecedented and half the world was on the border of starvation.

It is safe to say such strikes would never occur without the pressure of unamerican agitators. Labor on the whole brought great credit to itself during the war, and its action at its recent convention gives evidence of where the majority of laboring men in this country stand on straight Americanism. But the time has come when these extreme elements, under the pressure of Bolshevik Europe's desperation, have gone so far that labor must discriminate and wash its hands of these and secure the support of the general public, free from the suspicion of being tools of the enemies of the nation or in any way connected with this anti-

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american underworld. No class of people should be so ready to assist in clearing the country of these obstructors of our government as the honest working-man.

If we can rid our country of these disturbers and put into operation a comprehensive and thorough educational program of Americanism it will take only a few years to get under way a current of thinking and feeling that will operate like leaven among these masses, accomplishing healthy assimilation as well as change of purpose.

DISCOURAGEMENT AND RESTRAINT OF THE USE OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE

When Mr. Roosevelt said "We have room for but one language here and that is the English language," he expressed the feeling of all thoughtful people who have at heart this country's welfare. The purpose of making this a one-language nation has come so late that the task is a difficult and delicate one. We have allowed mixed language conditions to grow quite unhindered across a period in which millions of people speaking half an hundred different tongues have thronged our shores, and in many instances taken over to themselves sections which they have informally but practically colonized under non-english speaking control in nearly every city of our land.

In scarcely anything relative to our nation's security have we been more lax than in our neglect to stress the importance, to these millions of aliens, of

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the understanding and use of the English language. As soon as we observed the extent of our immigration a forward-looking government should have undertaken policies to make impossible the condition which now obtains. The Pittsburgh school authorities report that in an inquiry which they conducted it was disclosed that 19 percent of the parents of all the children in the public schools of that city talked in foreign tongues to their children; and that to each other, 30 percent of these spoke in foreign tongues. An understanding should have gone to every nation from which people might emigrate to America, that they were coming to a country of one language and that permanent residence here, would only be tolerated by those who immediately set about to learn and use that language.

We must now undertake a comprehensive program for a one-language nation. This should be done as largely as possible by the natural process of eliminating the mother tongue through teaching English and securing conditions by which the alien will as largely as possible be forced to use that language. Such a policy is pursued by the Pennsylvania Railroad system. They claim the best results are secured with their 33,000 foreign born men by measures which practically compel them in their every-day work to accustom themselves to speaking and thinking in the new tongue. The information and instruction intended for these men is printed in English; the foreman of each gang is able to read English, and usually at least one other man. This is a most healthy process

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because it causes the men to seek knowledge of English naturally, as they find it will be to their own personal advantage.

THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE PRESS

Among the customs that tend to hold the alien to his native language and further handicap the agencies instituted to secure his adoption of the English tongue, is the Foreign Language Press. This institution is more firmly intrenched having been justified in some respects, because, up to a certain point in the life of these new-comers, it seems a necessity without which these strangers would be largely stranded. It is also claimed that it can be used to advantage in imparting information and forwarding movements for their Americanization, as well as being a helpful medium to assist them in their adjustment to American conditions.

There is, doubtless, something to be said for these contentions. We all appreciate the awkward and lonely state of the stranger in the strange land, and his lack of association with the new people. But this attitude must be modified by the fact that a very large percent of these do not read even in their own language, and are dependent upon those who already know English or could readily learn it.

So far as the Foreign Press is a medium in promoting Americanization, it may at least be questioned whether this advantage is not many times offset by the fact that it provides a reason for keeping up the

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use of the mother tongue far beyond any influence it exerts to do away with its use. If the Foreign Language Press could be used wholly or chiefly as a temporary medium, if it were a government agency for the purpose of helping these people through their transition with the intention to graduate them from the necessity of it, then it would rapidly cure the very problem it now so largely perpetuates.

The Foreign Language Press, as constituted, is a commercial enterprise that demands the same conditions for its success as any other business proposition; its existence, and much more its profitable continuance, depends upon the perpetuance of the mother tongue among large constituencies of people; it is not reasonable to expect that such a press will advocate the disuse of the language upon which its business depends. It is inconceivable that it could long survive without an appeal for the continuation of the mother tongue, and though it may not directly seek to prejudice the alien against the new country, it, nevertheless, keeps alive his interest in the traditions and customs of his own race and magnifies its qualities, all of which tends to further devotion to the land of his nativity at the expense of the land of his adoption.

But the Foreign Language Press is more dangerous than this, as was evidenced by our experience during the war with the more than six hundred German language papers. The very motive that actuates these papers in a country, where with very little exception they are unnecessary, will cause them, whenever expedient and not unlawful, to take advantage of their

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constituents, when any provocative issue arises to put America at a discount; it is human nature to do so and it is inconceivable that it will not be done. An Italian clergyman of high standing writing on Italian life in America, says, "I have seen a large number of articles from Italian newspapers written by Italian professional men, which, translated and published, would open the eyes of the blind. America is described in these articles as a ruthless, rapacious, hypocritical, puritanical country—the political life incurably corrupt. I have seen Italian newspapers with laudatory articles on America written in English which no Italian would read, and with an article in the same issue in Italian that the American would not understand, painting America in blackest colors." He goes on to say that there are exceptions but for every such exception there are a dozen of the other kind. He also recommends that "a careful censorship of Italian newspapers should be established to challenge every article that is unduly depreciatory of America." Some measure should be adopted to restrain the use of this institution and as rapidly as possible eliminate it or reduce it to the only absolutely necessary. It may not be prudent to attempt this in an arbitrary or forceful manner, certainly not with any of the left-over war temper with the "stamp out" spirit, but by some measure similar to that adopted by the Pennsylvania Railroad. With the kind of restrictive laws elsewhere suggested with regard to future immigration this force would speedily diminish and in time become negligible.

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THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE CHURCH

The attempt to eliminate the use of the native tongue in church is a delicate undertaking because on matters religious many people are peculiarly sensitive, they think that religion can never have quite the same meaning except in the language in which it first came to them. There is some force in this contention especially with those peoples whose religious faith is so largely founded on traditions and highly saturated with superstition. The more religion is tied to tradition and confirmed in superstition, the less capable it is of surviving any kind of transition. Just as many of these people would be possessed of real alarm should they be disrespectful of some sacred institution, symbol, or saint, they are doubtless filled with fear at the thought of changing the language in which they worship.

They also feel that if this is the country where men are allowed to worship God by the dictates of their own conscience, surely they should not be disturbed in the use of their mother tongue in the practices of their religion. But this country does not promise freedom in things non-essential, if they are to the disadvantage of a common Americanism. For instance, freedom of speech granted in America, is not to be construed as a license to advocate some other form of government to the destruction of our own institutions. Freedom of conscience, in things religious, should not be understood as liberty to continue permanently a practice which holds people to a course which, if there

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were sufficient numbers, would eventually destroy our common tongue and our common and unified principles and institutions.

The clergy of these aliens are not a little at fault; because of their determination to hold their people against other religious institutions they incidentally if not deliberately hold them to their mother tongue, lest they more easily become apostate.

Such practices are least excusable in small country districts. In a rural neighborhood of a western state one Sunday during war time the writer saw two churches, not two hundred feet apart, in one of which a minister was preaching in English, while at the same hour in the other church another was preaching in a foreign tongue. These people were among the first settlers of that region, had been there many years, with Americans all about them. Many of the older men, it was said, had never become citizens. When war interests were brought to them they were disinclined to support this country, and only by bringing a thoroughly Americanized man of their own nationality who talked plainly to them, were they brought into line. These people had been unjust not only to this country but also to their own children who were being handicapped by a certain backwardness due to these practices.

Sectarianism is in no small measure to blame for this practice. In a rural section where a large percent of the people are of foreign birth or extraction, a small village church was struggling to serve the native population while a square away a good-sized

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church of the same denomination with a foreign prefix was ministering to the bulk of the people. It has been announced recently that this particular denomination has decided to support no more foreign language churches in this country; a good example for others to follow. Were it not for the zeal of the various religious sects much of this division by the use of language in church would not have occurred.

There is in the city of Boston an excellent example of the way in which the church may become an assistance rather than a handicap in Americanization. "The Church of All Nations," located in the Dover Street District where there is a very general mixture of nationalities, is a part of the well-known "Morgan Memorial," an organization of long and creditable standing which is, perhaps, the most successful institution of the kind in any city of our land. A few years ago, its very able chief pastor conceived the idea of a church where all nationalities might be brought together for religious purposes, giving as much racial consideration as would make them feel at home, yet never overlooking the main objective of Christian Americanization. Hence a fine church was built to meet the needs of this peculiar situation, with the chancel so arranged that it might be used for different forms of worship. Here there are occasional services in the various languages. Around the auditorium are a group of rooms set apart for the use of, and in recognition of, the various races and languages, but the chief feature is the regular

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service in English where all are brought together. The whole order makes for Americanization, not by the melting-pot process but through a constant American aim and the free operation of American influences, allowing play for the racial impulses. The entire institution is keyed, not to the idea of welfare work in the ordinary sense, but to the principle of helping folks to keep themselves, which is the true American way, and the plan that must obtain in all such work if we are to secure genuine Americanization.

The importance of eliminating the non-english languages in common speech in our country is not an attack upon those languages nor a discrimination against the alien; it is urged as a means of doing away with as rapidly as possible a practice which keeps these people assembled unfavorably, which greatly postpones their assimilation, is to their disadvantage if they are here to stay, and is unfair to the country that open its doors to them.

There are sympathetic men like Dr. Steiner who tell us that the children all speak English and that it is impossible to hold them to the mother tongue and that there is no serious menace in the foreign language custom; but such men have the happy way of looking at the subject largely from the aliens' point of view and out of their own experience, while the segregation remains and those that continue to come keep up the practice and there is no evidence that in the foreign quarter the use of the press or the continuance of the language is growing less.

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Dr. Steiner is quite right in contending it is imprudent to attempt to force the use of English and cites the case of Germany's policy with Alsace-Lorraine and its uselessness; that while these people were speaking in German they remained "French in feeling." This is, however, hardly a parallel situation. Those people were arbitrarily switched from France to Germany against their will and the imposing of German customs naturally met a stubborn resistance that was justified. In our case we have a right to assume that the people who come here, not at our request, and sometimes against our wishes, are here because they want to be here and it is to their advantage, and by our courtesy and good will, and the least they can return for such a privilege is to adopt our language and become susceptible to being assimilated to us.

We are under no obligations after granting these people admission to this country to set up or permit them to set up little foreign kingdoms within our borders or adopt any customs equivalent to that, tending toward separate kinds of Americans and loading us thereby with governmental problems we should not be obliged to carry.

A PERIOD OF CLOSED DOORS

If it is now our pre-eminent task to take advantage of the awakening and vision that has come to us, to so establish the order of this nation that it will be safeguarded from now on, and be equal to its

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part in world civilization, it may be necessary for us to close our doors for a period and reshape our policies in keeping with the crisis we have now reached. After a hundred years of steadily increasing immigration, varying only by the exigencies of war in some part of the world, or some other cause which by its very nature checked the flow temporarily, it is a departure to advocate "a closed door" for even a short period, and naturally, there is sentiment against it.

It is well understood, that our great industrial enterprises have come to their strength of position, even though not healthily, by the large supply of foreign labor; and the continuation of their prosperity, men will contend, depends upon an abundance of labor such as we ourselves cannot supply. We are informed that large numbers are departing, still others waiting for transportation, and that conditions in Europe will demand for rehabilitation all the labor that would otherwise come to us. The chance that these will go in sufficient numbers to make any noticeable impression is small; the probability of their remaining in those devastated regions is not great, since, over against what they find there, they have the appeal of America.

In answer to the contention that we will have little immigration after the war, may be ventured the prediction that when it really does begin we shall have more than ever before. Steamship companies will be eager to reimburse themselves for war losses; everything that can be done within the law

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they may be depended upon to do. Moreover, when those entangled groups now attempting their national realignments have continued their contentions, as appears certain they will for a long period with little sign of substantial adjustment that will make for prosperity, these war-worn peoples will seek the one country that has held itself together and furnished the world with enough to keep it from starvation.

There may eventually be need of labor; but it is not now in evidence. A few months ago we had four million soldiers most of whom were to return to private life, a large percent of whom were needing jobs. Months have passed and these are by no means provided for and at this writing there are nearly a million yet to be demobilized. With the large number of women who have taken and are willing to retain the places of men, it does not seem likely that there will be a scarcity of labor for some time to come.

We are informed by the U. S. Bulletin on Immigration that already Italy has in this country representatives to provide for an outlet to her labor supply, who are quoted as saying that Italy which has a birth rate of 300,000 in excess of her death rate must find some way to dispose of her excess of labor. In the same Bulletin is the information that the losses in southeastern Europe in the war do not equal the number that would have emigrated, normally, from those countries during the period when there has been no emigration. This being the case

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the emigration scare and the lack of immigration are not well founded; on the other hand it would not be surprising if after conditions are settled we were to have in two or three years an immigration of 2,000,000 per year which is probably about the number we would have reached by this time had the war not stopped the flow.

If we should close our doors the labor situation in this country might adjust itself to a lesser classification of laborers, according to the nature of the work. There is an independence in our native labor circles that is unwholesome for the men themselves, and dangerous to the economic stability of the nation. The disposition of some returned soldiers, and the general attitude of sympathy toward all our men in uniform, have added to this haughtiness, so that men are unwilling to accept any but such jobs as appeal to them and this not necessarily on the ground of qualification. This is due in no small degree to an over-classification of common labor made largely on the basis of certain alien elements to whom has been left much work once done by our native people, which labor now receives almost if not quite as high pay as so-called higher classes of work. It would be a good thing if this classification could be reduced, as by this means alien labor would be checked and business become more stable and less exploitive.

One of the most decided reasons for this is in the condition now obtaining in the old world. Nearly every nation involved in the war has hosts of people whose Utopian dreams are unrealized. For the

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present their identity is largely lost in the confusion; but as these nations settle down to some degree of order the dissatisfied elements with desperate state of mind will rise to the surface; there will be every effort to unload these, and America will be the inevitable country of their choice. This will open our nation to trouble-makers without number, against whom our immigration laws will be ineffective, and will greatly hinder the just settlement of our labor problems.

A new consideration has arisen that will create much interest among the labor people of this country. Word comes from the Peace Conference asking us to sign certain agreements in the labor section of the treaty which gives labor from any country equal rights with the labor of that country to which it has immigrated. This will naturally greatly encourage immigration to the United States especially from these countries where labor is cheap; and to a large degree these are the very countries from which come those more objectionable elements. It is difficult to see how the honest labor people of the United States can look upon such a suggestion other than very unfavorably unless we shall close our doors or place very limiting restrictions upon immigration. If we are to make so large a place in the new world order for labor as a class, that our internationalism must function in harmony with the demands of internationally organized labor there is nothing else consistent for us to do but to sign. If the leadership that has represented us in Paris and the labor leaders

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of this country who have counseled so largely in this new order for our nation, are insistent upon a world organization that puts us on an equality not only with all other nations but makes us subject to the will of other nations through world majorities, rather than masters of our own fortunes, there is nothing left for us to do honorably but to grant such equality. The only other thing we can do is to so rigidly control the immigration of this country as to reduce the peril to American labor to the minimum, and that is indirectly a discrimination against this same labor. The labor people of our nation may yet awaken to the fact that they can best serve their own interests by determining these within their own American constituency in keeping with the conditions in their own nation; and at the same time with fraternal good-will toward labor people of the world assist them within such limitations more largely than by a policy of world fellowship that will sooner or later destine our nation to a level for labor somewhere between the largest advantage obtaining in America and the lowest state of labor in the most backward nation.

Our nation has never stopped and locked its doors to take account of its status since foreign influx began. By force of circumstance, they have been closed in this war period long enough for us to realize our condition, by virtue of the strain put upon us nationalistically. We have not had time, however, to adjust ourselves to the new visions of our responsibility. We need now to put our house in order in keeping with these disclosures and we cannot do it

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effectively if we have added continuously in large numbers elements provocative of the very problems we have to solve. If we could stop this flow for a given period and get our problems well compassed with fundamental plans, the currents of influence well under direction; a few years would show a vast change and our Americanization movement would have a chance to crystallize, becoming more self-promoting, and a more effective means of assimilation when once again our doors are opened.

MORE DISCRIMINATING REGULATION OF IMMIGRATION

Whether or not we close our doors temporarily we should put into effect a better policy of regulation. It is only within the last thirty years that any thorough-going federal consideration has been given to regulation or restriction of immigrants. Some worthwhile legislation has been enacted from time to time, but none of it has seemed to have any decided effect upon the number coming, and, apart from criminals, upon the quality of those admitted. The law forbidding contract labor, enacted earlier, undoubtedly did something toward modifying the unfavorable aspect of the alien labor situation; nevertheless laborers have come in quite sufficient numbers and by no means of highest quality. The literacy test is valuable, but though aimed at reducing numbers from southern and eastern Europe it has not accomplished this end to any considerable degree. It is doubtful if any additional legislation by way of individual discrimination can make possible a large reduction of immigration. Something must be done to provide

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a definite limitation. The bill now proposed by Senator Dillingham on the percent basis aims at such but provides that the Secretary of Labor shall, at his discretion, admit additional numbers if in his judgment "it is justifiable as a measure of humanity." In the light of our experience during the war, with the conferring of such large powers upon single individuals, does the history of political practice in our country justify such discretionary power? Congress should determine so important a matter and with due consideration. There is no conceivable emergency that would make it necessary as "a measure of humanity." If we are to show generosity toward unfavored peoples let us bestow it where these people are in their homeland; we cannot provide for the whole human race in the United States.

If we are to share largely in the world's uplift we must appreciate the necessity of saving our own nation from becoming like the very parts of the world we are called to advance. Only by reducing numbers very greatly can we properly determine the qualification of those who are asking admission; it is impossible to properly examine these people when coming in such numbers as they were before immigration was checked by war. If these aliens were being admitted at twenty-five ports instead of the very limited number and the bulk of them at a single port, it might be possible to handle them more satisfactorily.

Canada under her new laws has determined to admit immigrants only in proportion to her ability to assimilate them. Like Canada, whose commissioner

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is a colonizer, as well as immigration minister, we should have definite plans for distribution, location and vocational attachment of these people not merely to safeguard the country but also to best serve them.

We should discriminate, for several years at least, against those people who are bound to give us trouble, who will be as menacing to our Americanization purposes as those whom we are now deporting. Canada has decided to keep her doors closed for the present against Germany, Austria, Turkey and Bulgaria. It is reported that there are 200,000 German agents now in this country with plenty of backing by large banking houses. This in itself is sufficient reason why we should close our doors to that country and her allies for some time to come; we have not the slightest evidence that Germany will pursue any different line of conduct than that treacherous, deceitful course in which we caught her when war overtook us. Germany is still able, or will be as soon as the world shall have quieted to a degree, to manipulate the people of other nations and we have no reason to trust her. There is nothing to bar from 100,000 to 200,000 Germans annually, on the basis of the five percent plan. This country does not want to make that immediately possible.

We should also discriminate against those most disturbed countries, like Russia; not against Russians as such, but because the radical spirit has created a régime in which a considerable number of its population is involved, which if introduced among

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us would be confusing and distracting if not absolutely dangerous to our national conditions.

If we are to cut down our immigration sufficiently to secure admission of only those most desirable, and these in lesser numbers we should seek to restrict those races and divisions of races who show lowest ideals in living conditions, and are least disposed even after their stay here to improve in this respect. Our nation has certain fundamental living standards and it is highly essential that these be kept, otherwise the nation inevitably degenerates.

Then we should discriminate very decidedly against those races that tend to segregate and are most stubborn in remaining unbroken, not only because of the conditions they create in districts they inhabit, but because living thus they are incapable of assimilation.

We should discriminate against those races most determined to cling to the use of the native tongue, showing least interest in learning the use of the language of America; and quite as decidedly against those who as a rule come only for temporary stay to secure what they can, always intending to return, and taking no interest in American matters beyond the extent to which it is to their pecuniary advantage. The Greeks for instance who though they make much less trouble than races of lower order are here solely for the purpose of getting what they can out of the country with no intention of remaining permanently and becoming citizens, and are void of any interest in, or disposition to participate in any

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public good. Probably there is no race among us of which this is so characteristic. These where employed as laborers are found usually in industries where wages are low and they by their habits of life help to keep them down.

There are 12,000 Greeks in the city of Lowell, Massachusetts. These Greeks have been coming to us since about 1900 only, and are one of the lesser groups numerically, yet they are to be found in every city and in nearly every town of a few thousand in all parts of the land, and are gaining control of certain lines of business in which by their habits and racial co-operation they outdo the native. This we might not object to if they adopted our customs and became interested citizens, but they have shown no disposition to do so. It is true they fought well in the war with us, but because they were ordered to do so from their native land, for our cause was their cause. It is not unjust to any race to discriminate against them when their entire policy is to take advantage of opportunity with no corresponding degree of responsibility. Other races or groups of races show more or less similar disposition. We are fully justified in discriminating in favor of Scandinavians for example who never swarm and sink in alien quarters, but take largely to the land, and ally themselves with us, and hence lay no great burdens upon the nation.

We have had opportunity to study every race and every sub-division of races, and have now, through special analysis of these findings, sufficient matter for formulating some general policy which could find

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no opposition unless with those who are looking for abundance of cheap labor and who care more for personal profits than for national welfare.

Mr. Calder, Canadian Minister of Immigration, says, "If there are any peculiar peoples whose customs, beliefs, whose ideals and modes of life are dissimilar to ours, and who are not likely to become Canadian citizens we have a right to put up the bars and keep them out. We have learned during the course of the last two or three years that the people of today have a trust for the people of tomorrow."

This is a truth the people of the United States, it is believed, have learned also, and we should not allow any element who cares only to exploit the country, to insist upon a wide-open policy on the plea of industrial necessity. Security of ideals and institutions is of first consideration to us today. What will it profit our nation if it gives more people labor, more pay to laborers if expenses ascend in proportion while national standards trail in the dust, and our future is mortgaged to the loss of those for whom we hold a trust?

We should make the penalties of transportation companies so severe that solicitations of any kind will be brought to an end. If as reported in the U. S. Bulletin of Immigration, that out of an immigration of only a little over 100,000 aliens to this country during the last fiscal year and many of them from just over the Mexican border, the fines of steamship companies amounted to \$63,315, there is surely need of more rigid law to put an end to the treason of

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these companies. They should be put out of business. We should have some means, also, of heading off a large percent of undesirables by an understanding with the governments of the countries from which these aliens come, to the effect that they should not permit people to leave who are likely to be turned back on their arrival here.

We should establish a maximum period of stay here for every alien. Within that time he should determine to become a citizen, and show his determination by a tendency toward Americanization voluntarily and not because of being crowded toward citizenship by Americanization plans. A report from the Scranton, Pennsylvania, schools of a canvass made disclosed the fact that 6 out of 10 of the industrial workers foreign born had made no attempt to become citizens and more than 70 per cent of the unnaturalized had been in this country 12 years and one-half were wholly illiterate in language. Let it go out to all nations that the type of immigrants welcome here are those who are prospective American citizens because this country's institutions and life correspond to their ideals and desires.

If our doors could be entirely closed for a time it would enable us through experience already acquired to formulate safer workable plans and make it easier to carry them out when the doors are reopened.

CHAPTER IV

Constructive Government and Nation-Building

A FREE nation first exists in the dreams, ideals and passions of its people. This was never quite so evident as today, growing out of the tragic sacrifices of these painful years while the whole world is struggling for a new birth of freedom, there rises out of the seething confusion of broken empires numbers of races and branches of races seeking for the recognition of nationality through the promise of self-determination. So powerful is the passion for independent national distinction and freedom to work out the destiny smothered for generations and centuries, that they are willing to fight on to attain their ideals though already bled white with sacrifices.

Though no defined national purpose burned in those who opened this great land to the hungry world, there were inherent with those whose life became dominant on these shores the potentialities of a great nation, as has been true of the millions who since have joined them seeking the same ends.

Unlike, however, any of the peoples now striving for nationality we were not making over an old order and bringing together a people with dreams of independence; we were pioneers in a new world that had no history behind it and no institutions or customs to revolutionize. Our government grew out of the ex-

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igencies that arose and took shape according to the dominant principles that inhered.

There is nothing in history that serves as a fitting parallel to the development of the American nation. As the original settlers went out not knowing whither they were going, so limited was their knowledge of the new world, so in a very considerable degree we have pursued our course, scarcely knowing the extent of our ventures or the needs they might create.

As in the beginning we had no well-defined territory to guard and govern, so during the years we have scarcely sensed at any time what was the range of our national responsibilities. As the early settlers were a law unto themselves in defense of their own neighborhoods, and slow to consider the need of co-operation with all settlements, thus paving the way for states' right with little idea of federated interests, so we have grown to a large extent, each section and state meeting its own needs and legislating according to its own demands. Nevertheless, as there were inherent with these peoples from the beginning the principles of freedom, independence and self-determination so there was in them like potentialities for nationalism that would appear when conditions ripened and exigencies arose.

The struggle for independence from the old world was the natural and incidental evidence of a nationalism not yet defined. The Constitution was an expression of fundamental ideals dominant with those people not yet a real nation. The Civil War though popularly understood to have been for the abolition of

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slavery was fought to save the Union. Enough of the feeling of nationality had now come to possess the country's leaders to see the necessity of preserving the Union, and in that contest we rose to a national consciousness as never before.

The period of reconstruction that followed called for consideration of national matters as such, and from that time on we have operated with a nationalistic vision to a much larger degree, but altogether too generally, as from the beginning, meeting issues as they arose, and determining policies when provoked to do so by problems that demand immediate solution. Too often our legislation has been purely remedial, furnishing no fundamental direction for the future.

The crucial period of the recent war, which while it disclosed our resources and powers as the world had never seen them and as we ourselves had never before realized them, also brought us face to face with our limitations, causing us to see why many of the conditions obstructive of our national purpose had so firmly intrenched themselves. We were awakened to the fact that we had no constructive national policy by which to forestall approaching evils.

THE PRACTICE OF GOVERNMENT FOR EMERGENCY

Our legislators have been accustomed to meet and take up problems that immediately beset the nation, sometimes with more partisanism than statesmanship, solving them for the time being but rarely taking into account of what these problems forewarn, rather

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waiting until they reappear in some form perhaps more difficult of solution.

The initiative for governmental plans beyond this, has been left chiefly with the Executive; and the administrative part of our government is so dependent upon partisanship, that such plans whether good or bad, if not made in the interest of partisanship rarely go beyond its interest. Our government, therefore, since the adoption of certain fundamental policies in our early history, by which we have been largely guided in general, operates chiefly as an emergency government meeting problems only as they come with urgency. We have failed to stress our nationalism and we have not reckoned against the flood of international elements which quite unhindered have been impairing our national security.

We have in our nation's archives, gathered from time to time, a vast amount of matter giving the actual status of the nation, which if interpreted would be found clearly prophetic of the problems soon to break upon us. This data has rarely been made use of, except by private individuals, or politicians for timely political ends. Some months ago the writer had occasion to make inquiry of departments at Washington of their findings on certain matters beyond what was available from the census and other published reports. Each department replied, sending additional and more recent data, but nothing answering the inquiries. Finally after correspondence that extended over several months the following word came from an official who had pursued the matter

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with interest, "I have been unable to secure the information you desire from any of the departments; you have opened up a very interesting line."

This was no reflection upon the men in charge of the machinery of the government, they have their duties more or less perfunctorily defined. It simply confirmed what had been believed, namely, that our government as a government has never seriously undertaken to study our national problems in the light of the array of facts tabulated at large expense, using these facts and their indications of trend for plans to deal effectively with forthcoming problems before they become acute.

There should be in Washington a sort of clearing house for the findings of various departments with observations and conclusions by men of statesmen-like vision. Our several departments are too much an end in themselves, if not a law unto themselves. These extensive activities with their large expenditures should serve the nation to a much greater extent in shaping far-reaching governmental policies. Such a plan were it now in operation would shed much light in a specific way, and lend large assistance to the difficult problem of Americanization, which is related to immigration, education, labor and agriculture; all these departments with their correlated data assembled could wonderfully add to the speed and thoroughness of the solution of this problem. That men appointed, as well as those voluntarily active, must pioneer and blaze their own way blunderingly is a tremendous handicap and a reflection upon a

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government that spends money most recklessly, and much of it to very little governmental advantage.

NATIONAL EVILS AND EMERGENCY GOVERNMENT

The policy of postponing national issues of which we are forewarned until they are upon us in all their force, or that of only temporizing with them when we have to meet them, is a course which destines a nation to more firmly intrenched problems and causes them to extend their scope and to multiply. We call our present task reconstruction growing out of the war, but the larger part of this for our country which has not been devastated or demoralized in a physical way, is more strictly *con*-struction which grows out of long-tolerated national wrongs which, because allowed, had fixed themselves as a part of our order and now have reached a point of defense that makes them near immovable.

The war itself, so far as our being in it was concerned, was the result in a large measure of neglect of those national policies by means of which we might have been saved. Had we been prepared by such consideration as should long since have been given to our Americanization against German undermining and all other matters that make for serious internal complications, and been prepared in military defense as some of our farsighted statesmen had for years been urging, it may be doubted whether the war would have gone far, for such preparation would have greatly toned down German arrogance; indeed

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it might never have risked its plunge for world dominion.

We shall never know, but we can guess how great was our responsibility for this war. Germany well knew how utterly unprepared we were for defense, much less for offensive warfare, and how little thought we had given to a knowledge of the forces that had fixed themselves within our borders with unamerican motive. Whether a preparation in genuine Americanization of our alien forces, and preparedness for defense, had hindered this plunge of Germany or not, it certainly would have saved us billions of dollars, and thousands of lives, together with hundreds of thousands of lives among the nations involved. This is a telling example of the peril of lack of forward-looking governmental policies, which we shall not soon forget.

LABOR PROBLEMS

There are those who can easily recall the first strikes in our country and remember when there was no capital-labor problem as now known. In a comparatively short time this has become our most provoking issue. It is the problem in other nations as well as our own but that is no excuse for us, and beside we are free from many of the traditional conditions that aggravate such a problem in older nations. Consistent enforcement of our unqualified principles of equality of opportunity would have solved this problem before it took on its present pro-

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portions, in which labor all but sets up a rival government, so supreme are its leaders in a great exigency such as that through which we have just passed. We had scarcely entered upon the war when labor, taking advantage of our neglect, dictated the nation's course, and we will find great difficulty in overcoming the arrogance of those days. It still asserts itself in time of peace by its radical measures and movements.

An example of this was seen recently in the street-car strike in greater Boston when 7800 men held up a great city's business, caused serious inconvenience and a loss to the company of more than \$400,000 in four days, while merchants lost hundreds of thousands more.

It is probably safe to say that nothing was ever gained by strikes that could not have been gained ultimately by proper procedure and appeal, unless something that should not have been gained, as in the strike referred to, and for which the strikers have already paid in the unanimous loss of public favor. Today comes a demand from a high labor chief that if labor is not granted its wishes the nation may be tied up from shore to shore without a train to run, regardless of the fact that people might famish for want of food, and with it a veiled threat of violence that would well become the old-time brigand.

This is a sample of that spirit of arrogance now surging over this land in spite of the fact that it is the only country that has come out of the war with enough to eat. And though conditions are far from

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right, these men are faring so much better than it is possible for laboring men to fare in the countries broken by war and carrying almost unbearable debts that put them in beggarly relation to us, that they ought to blush with shame in view of the world's starving multitudes.

This condition which has become as chronic with us as a well-seated disease is due primarily to a failure, in the early years of these problems, to observe their trend with the inevitable outcome, and legislate wisely, in advance or at least in pace with their growth.

Forethought and constructivness of legislation would have given trend to these capital-labor issues, established practices upon the part of each that would have saved the vast waste of the nation's strikes, as well as the bad temper so deeply ingrained, and the revolutionary spirit that furnishes today most of the atmosphere for our class conditions and our unamericanism.

CLASS LEGISLATION

When a government pushes its legislative problems aside and takes action only when forced to do so because a crisis has been reached the inevitable result is habitual class legislation. If we legislate in behalf of labor, we are, if it is corrective legislation, likely, if not certain, to legislate against capital and vice versa; if we legislate for the farmer we are likely to legislate directly against the middleman or consumer; and again the reverse is true.

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The present high-handed attitude upon the part of labor exists chiefly because in earlier days labor stood small chance in legislative circles; it had to beg or force by strikes its concessions and its advantages, and it found its justification in the fact that its cry was scarcely heard in legislative corridors because drowned by the louder and more compelling voice of capital's professional lobbyists; and its forceful policy in the open was more than matched by the subsidizing policy of capital unpublished to the world.

Today, in a crucial time when it is easier to make laws than to enforce them, labor is holding the whip high in hand and within altogether too close distance of forcing class legislation in America, and unless the political parties hold their forces from splitting as parties, and at the same time stand party with party on matters that preserve representative government, such may yet be the outcome.

The Non-Partisan League of North Dakota is a sample of the sort of thing that is born of forced class legislation, in avenging the injustices permitted by allowing constructive and protective government to go by default; and were it not for the suspicions of its radical leadership, which has gone so far and moved so fast that reaction is quite certain to set in, it might have furnished the nucleus and inspiration for a new national class party. Indeed that would be quite possible under present conditions if, after reaching a certain point in sympathetic agreement, farmers were not almost certain to break with

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labor, for in the ultimate desires there is a conflict of interests, especially when the régime takes on a strong socialistic and communistic flavor.

If as has been reported when the farmers, whose patience had been exhausted by discrimination upon the part of mills, railroads and bankers with whom the politicians were in league, went to their representatives asking for consideration in the intent of justice they were met with "Go home and feed your hogs, and we'll take care of the government," it is easy to see how even cool conservative farmers approve radical measures in their own behalf.

There must be no recognition of class as such in government; it is proper to legislate for people as people but not for classes as classes without encountering greater problems. Mr. Roosevelt saw this and took the only consistent American stand. One day a labor representative said to him "There is a hearing for us fellows." "Yes," said the President, "while I am here the White House door will swing open as easily for labor as for capital,—and no easier." When an Executive yields to either capital or labor to gain some end or ease some tense situation, he may gain his point and on it ride temporarily into great favor and power, but if he remains in office long enough he will find himself in deeper trouble and his hold on the public lessened, for class decisions are inconsistent with our national ideals.

Special privilege granted or tolerated in a free government is class legislation and cannot escape opposite

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class legislations. The custom of holding up the public by graft such as is now being practiced or the restrictive or destructive monopoly allowed, not only leads to protest but justifies in a considerable degree the demands for radical reversive measures and even the over-riding of all law and order. No one thing does so much to break down the dignity of law and respect for it, as the failure to use it against barest-faced injustice and in protection of the people against those who graft upon them.

It is unfortunate that a government should by neglect find itself always making and enforcing laws in favor of one party and against another, instead of shaping constructive policies that are in the interest of all the people as people, and automatically prohibitive of class legislation.

THE NEGRO PROBLEM

We have before us a problem that is the result of failure to meet an issue squarely and deal with it intelligently. We have treated it as though incidental and sometimes as we would a nuisance we must tolerate, and yet we long since by definite and costly action put the negro into our regular constituency and gave him a determining part in national affairs. The writer was forewarned of the temper that was destined to bring this issue to a crisis, when after addressing negro soldiers both north and south, he saw the disposition of leaders to take advantage of every reference to democracy to

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stir their fellows, by telling them that they were now to have their day in court and that they should no longer be satisfied with less than real democracy. This problem must be solved now; it will not longer postpone, there must be some modification of a situation which is so utterly inconsistent with the standard of freedom and equality determined by our nation.

This matter has its roots far back in the beginning of the nation, and the sins of the fathers are visited on all succeeding generations. It inheres in the distinction between those who settled at Jamestown and those who settled at Plymouth. It is a part of the heritage from the southern colonies with their contract labor, the forerunner of slavery, as against the principles of freedom transcendent with the New Englanders, which principles ultimately prevailed. The south after the issue of slavery was determined, stubbornly kept up its practice of discrimination with as much prejudice as before.

We know the dilemma of the present generation who feel they have to take a narrow political course to save themselves from being over-ridden by a possible republican negro vote. Nevertheless it means a stagnant life with serious handicaps in thinking and vision. Covering territory at one time from Little Rock to New Orleans, and from New Orleans to Houston, San Antonio and El Paso on the border the writer bought every specimen of newspaper over the whole territory; but only once did he find a single paper that was not in political sentiment a re-

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production of every other one. Such a state of mind in absence of independent thinking is deadening to the spirit of a people.

The south would not face the situation looking forward to see what negro freedom and negro franchise would mean, and that a free negro with a ballot equal to theirs, was much more dangerous kept ignorant and debased than enlightened and improved. They have postponed their day of reckoning by emergency policies, meeting the negro problem temporizingly when forced. Instead of helping the negro to help himself and become actually free, not merely from their power over him but from his own racial enslavements, making it possible to appeal to him and secure his intelligent co-operation for the common good, they have kept him in ignorance and as much as possible eliminated his vote; they have sown to the wind in this pursuit and they may have to reap the whirlwind. In a new sense the south and the whole country may appreciate Mr. Lincoln's words that a people will not always "remain half slave and half free."

This is not a southern question merely, it is a national one, and our failure to emphasize national unity, our disposition to allow states and sections to violate fundamental national principles has not only left this issue unsolved, but has blighted the whole south to a degree, and allowed to generate a narrow sectional policy and spirit from which comes such sentiment in politics as "The solid south."

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Long ago when southerners declined to look this problem in the face and deal with it, the nation should have dealt with it, for what imperils any section of the country imperils the whole country.

In the matter of Americanism and Americanization we have in the south one of our most dangerous situations. Several states in answer to inquiries regarding legislation and state plans for Americanization, have replied that their foreign population is so small that they have no such problem and hence no activities, while these states have large percentages of illiteracy which they do not reckon as of unamerican import. This condition will not be cleared up in the south until there is a uniform program for education on the basis of strict Americanism. These people furnished a tremendous amount of the educational burden placed upon us in recent military training.

The north has an obligation toward the south, in that, without due consideration it loaded upon it an almost unbearable burden in granting the negro franchise without any corresponding assumption of responsibility for the peril of such action by provision for his enlightenment and development. Therefore in calling for a uniformity of education in Americanism today on the ground that the nation as a whole should bear these burdens of alienism and illiteracy it is simply asking the nation to fulfill toward the south a long neglected obligation.

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RAILROADS AND TRUSTS

We have other instances of serious conditions to which the nation has come for lack of courageous constructiveness of government, which now that we are trying to secure the re-establishment of the country and provide against our unamericanism, greatly handicap us at every turn, so are these great problems of nation-making interlocked. This country has not only been bled of its resources by assumed license upon the part of the few, but institutions have been allowed to organize themselves and prey upon the innocent or helpless public, robbing multitudes while protected by government, or at least tolerated without interference, until the nation finds itself in their grip and is obliged to spend time and resources against them that ought to be spent in constructive work in this crisis.

The railroad situation, now a thing of governmental contention which has already been a great tax upon the people since taken over in war and seems destined to still further burden the nation, is handed down to this crucial hour as a part of our heritage from a governmental past that failed to foresee, or when it did, failed to grapple with a most stupendous public imposition. It is nearly impossible to deal with this problem now with utmost impartiality because of a widely prejudiced state of mind resulting from the degree to which some of

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these great corporations robbed peoples, and then left the roads near the condition of a public charge.

Likewise, great trusts have been allowed to form and continue to extend their combinations in control of living necessities until at this hour they hold the very bread of the people in their grip, and the government is obliged to hunt them down with as desperate determination as that with which we pursued our nation's traitors in time of war. The disgrace of this today stands perhaps as our most offensive example of national inconsistency in a time when the nation is struggling to satisfy an arrogant labor class in the face of the high cost of living, and when we are attempting to justify to these peoples who are taking citizenship with us that this is a real democracy and the land of equality of opportunity.

Such is not easy when as we are told that during the last twenty or twenty-five years one-third of the total production of the nation outside of agriculture has been bought under the control of trusts, until one trust controls seventy-five percent of the steel industry; another ninety percent of the sugar, another ninety percent of the tin, one seventy-five percent of the oil, and still another seventy-five percent of the paper. These conditions which a government without foresightedness has allowed to obtain are a most stupendous barrier as the nation wrestles with the problems of unrest and unamericanism.

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EMERGENCY GOVERNMENT VS. EXTRA-GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES

In a republic, confidence in the institutions of the government is essential to a nation's stability. The greatest bane to earnest and active devotion to public matters through the established political order, is the lack of confidence in public officials and in the devices which are their accepted mediums of operation. This has been further impaired by independent movements which instead of being suggestive and inspirational have taken upon themselves in many instances the responsibility of campaigning, proposing and crowding through legislative action often coercing those whose business it should be to advocate and initiate such action.

The professional lobbyist, paid by interests concerned, whose activities have often been carried on in unblushing openness until he has come to be looked upon in some cases as much an attaché of government offices as those regularly chosen to represent the people, has his justification to no little degree in the extra-governmental movements of voluntary organizations which also frequently represent only a class of people and sometimes a very narrow class. The right of people in a free government to petition and represent is a wholesome thing, but the custom that has become so common in this country, of organizing bodies of people to watch the government and to agitate, manipulate, and exert influence is unwholesome if not dangerous, because it justifies

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lobbying and scheming upon the part of those who are promoting the interests of a small or comparatively small division of the people, and it depreciates regular governmental agencies, and opens the way for the breaking down of real representative government.

The war generated more of these, many of which are holding over, some evidently intending to fix themselves as permanent promoters of certain policies or keepers of certain principles. Such institutions could be of value if they were broad in their scope of interest and representation, and provided they kept within the field of agitation instead of entering unofficially the realm of legislation, and were clear from suspicion of being supported by, and representatives of, a class of our people instead of the American people as a whole. This habit of reforms through unofficial organizations has become so prevalent that it is hard to find anyone who really represents the people. It is no wonder that official representatives do not feel especially bound to represent. Moreover it inspires many movements against good government that would not otherwise appear, for when we allow governmental matters to be handled by organizations that use all the power they can command to crowd the issue they are eager to make into law, we not only open the way, but provoke to action other people who have opposite interests to promote.

The separate mass movements under various divisions of organization with their tremendous "drive" power during the war have put into the minds of the

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labor element with its class tendency, and of radical groups with extreme purposes, the idea of the possibility of getting anything that is wanted with an organization strong enough or a crowd big enough to put pressure upon the government until it yields. These extra-agencies for governmental purpose open the way for organized movements against the government, which have had large influence in misleading our aliens and in obstructing a natural process of Americanization. The cure for this condition is in government initiative upon the part of the government itself through those whose business it should be, both to recommend for initiative by the people, and to execute in legislation with reference to the whole field of public welfare. We have reached a time in our national life when it is urgent that we should adopt policies that will eliminate these extra-governmental forces so that we can with consistency enforce our laws to save from peril that comes of disregard for the established order, else we shall soon find ourselves a nation of wreckless law-breakers near to mob rule. This custom of creating legislation or forcing administration has been carried so far that it has opened the door for any group of people to come to us to ask assistance, and if not accorded a hearing they turn their influence on parties or individuals attempting to secure support by threats of their undoing. This is not only corrupting but is conducive to the absolute obstruction of government.

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The American Federation of Labor which generally commands the respect and good-will of our people as having a perfectly justifiable place in our national order is nevertheless becoming a dangerous factor because of the extent to which it is being used to support movements even to disrespect for law and order.

Probably never in the history of this nation have we had such an example of this perilous disposition as in the instance now before us when the police of the city of Boston are on a strike because of the conviction of some of their number who had violated their rules in planning to put their forces in affiliation with the Labor Union. The city is left exposed to rioters, robbers and murderers, and the State Federation of Labor in session wires its unanimous support of the police, calls a special meeting and threatens a general sympathetic strike. This spirit and purpose seems to be widespread the country over and is more ominous of national insurrection than anything in our history.

The government of this republic depends upon keeping the people sovereign. They have been losing their sovereignty rapidly for years, because those who represent them have permitted law making and law enforcement to be taken from their hands by independently organized classes of people. The time has come for the American people to arise, assert their sovereignty, brush aside these dividing, distracting and corrupting influences, both of those who take advantage, and of those who by assuming

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such course open the way for others. In our work of Americanization we should use authorized agencies to convey to the alien a sense of the dignity of the government with which he is to ally himself, the force of its customs, the supremacy of its laws, and the seriousness of disrespect for the nation's institutions, for such impression is a vital part of his Americanization, and forbids the idea that he can immediately proceed with some extra government movement in behalf of his own race when once he has the protection of American citizenship.

PUBLIC SENTIMENT AND LEGISLATION

It is well understood by political economists that in a nation whose government is representative, especially when the spirit of democracy is widespread, that legislation is of little force unless it has the support of a strong majority public sentiment; and it may be questioned whether legislation without sufficient sentiment is for public order equal to an overwhelming sentiment without legislation. At least, it may be said without doubt, that any of us would prefer to risk our interests and perhaps our lives in a community where high ideals and strong demand for honor and sobriety obtain with little law, than in one where there is ample law but little sentiment for good order. If laws on our statute books were all this country needed to guarantee its safety, peace and prosperity our nation would be safe beyond peradventure.

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In its recent session the General Assembly of Massachusetts enacted over six hundred new laws, and this was not extraordinary. We are well aware that these laws whether new or substitutes for others will not have any noticeable effect in changing the order of things in that state beyond a few possible instances. Laws are not the forces that make for world improvement so much as is sentiment. The average law only affects a few, the mass of the people in a civilized country live above the law; the man who is always quoting, "This is the law," is usually himself a man who lives within the statute that exists but violates fundamentals of civilization not written in law. A nation will never rise to a high level whose ideals and sentiment do not transcend its laws.

Legislation that is brought about either because of some critical stage in a nation's problems that compels it, or that comes of a special case worked up by a lobbyist or organization outside the government, or by one class of people against another class without an intelligent expression of opinion born of unprejudiced public sentiment, is in danger of either being reversed or going by default, and in either case has unfavorable effect upon law and order.

Regardless of the merits of any particular measure, it is doubtful if any legislation coming out of war-time conditions will be as effective as the same measure would have been by the intelligent action

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of a majority public sentiment enacted in normal times.

We have before us at this time a governmental proposal, which ere this reaches its readers will doubtless have been acted upon, whose import carries with it the farthest reaching revolutionary departure in the history of the republic. At first, under the spell of a promise to end wars, the sensitive people of this country who had passed through the nightmare of this undreamed-of tragedy, seemed ready to approve a radical change of control of our most vital national issues, from our own direction to that of a super-government by all nations. A few months of enlightenment have changed the national state of mind very decidedly. If such a departure is desirable and we are to become contracting parties thereto, it is absolutely necessary to the maintenance of such an agreement that the people shall know its full meaning and put themselves behind it. Otherwise a contract that binds us to send soldiers to any part of the world without an issue of self-defense would be an agreement quite impossible to support in event of large military demands. Should such be crowded through on the plea of an emergency measure, and the people after unbiased enlightenment disapprove it, the enactment will either be reversed to our embarrassment and with injustice toward others, or will go by default because of lack of support in public sentiment.

Regardless of the grounds on which the demands for such agreement are made, one thing that has

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been largely overlooked is the well-known state of mind of our soldiers on such a position. The writer has sounded the men in service very extensively on certain lines and can say unqualifiedly that it would be difficult enough to secure an army to repeat a war service on the basis of that recently rendered such has been their experience, but on a broader world scale with no defensive reasons, there is no power that could raise an army for over-seas because of the soldier state of mind which would be fully supported by civilian sentiment. It is useless to make laws or enter upon international agreement unsupported by public sentiment.

It is because of the lack of knowledge of international affairs that our people seemed ready to subscribe to such a denationalizing proposal. This was brought about by an extra-governmental organization with an ex-President at its head crowding an issue on emergency grounds before a people accustomed to accept emergency processes in government, with highly colored statements which were not made on the broad fair basis of Americanism.

If our nation were to set about a task of real constructiveness in government it would automatically call out our senators, congressmen and representatives of our various departments from time to time over the country not on campaign occasions for partisan purpose, but in broad interpretation of our fundamental principles and the necessary application of them to problems present and forthcoming.

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This would furnish the people with a basis for intelligent public sentiment.

We have a good example of the kind of extra-political or public organization that is justifiable and desirable in the Legion now organizing, bringing the soldiers together not merely as a "Grand Army" but because the principles for which we fought the things involved also in our national defense and the problems to which these men have been awakened, furnishes for their broad, unbiased American consideration issues upon which they may express and greatly help to shape public opinion of large saving value to the nation. This is not an organization of a class in the interest of a class, but of soldier citizens organized without partisanism and on a basis of real democracy that makes for Americanism.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND CONSTRUCTIVE GOVERNMENT

A government by the political party usage is not without weaknesses and is subject to more or less perversion, but all things considered is one that seems to work better than any yet devised for free government. Much as we may depreciate the narrowness of partisanism it provokes and the degree to which it is used to carry personal or group ends, it has the advantages of the play of one element against another which is wholesome, and there is always in a free country the opportunity of party breaks progressively, and the prodding of lesser

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parties to keep the regular contending parties open to departures in answer to public demands, that saves the country from being subject to an order that is obstructive of the people's initiative.

For a number of years our rival parties have become more or less disintegrated through progressive elements in the interest of meeting issues of the hour, rather than standing pat on party principles and doing in progressive ways only what they were absolutely forced to do.

There is no such tenacity of party lines as formerly, and the war with its upheaval has left the situation such that there will needs be more or less of a new line-up and cleavage because of reconstruction issues which are such that it is much as though the country were starting over again.

When a nation's life, clear into its remotest home, is affected by the issue of war and the heart sacrifice it calls for, folks forget partisan divisions through the personal interests they are called upon to sacrifice. The question with the people is likely to be, what is the party's position as to those issues concerning which they are most interested?

Great responsibility rests with the political leadership of this reconstructive period and that which immediately follows; for after we shall have done with our so-called reconstruction by adjustment to the changed conditions, we shall find ourselves faced by a further demand, that of determining upon a real constructive order in government by which we shall not be allowed to revert to our former im-

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provising, subject to selfish schemes and the political compromises which they promote. The party that is to guide successfully our great ship of state through the exigencies of these unsettled times toward a peace and prosperity that is founded upon justice toward all our people and which is to provide for Americanism on a basis and by a spirit that will no longer leave room for attack upon the government, and the prejudicing of our aliens who are considering citizenship among us, and will by its principles and policy make for the safest kind of nation-building, must needs be careful of its choice of leaders.

The leadership of the immediate future must not be chosen from those suspected of internationalism or radicalism as against a staunch defense of our fundamental American principles and the Constitution of the United States. Our nation has already come sufficiently near the verge of peril in this direction and a further emphasis of this kind would spell speedy disaster to the future of the country. On the other hand the leadership must not be chosen from those, however otherwise qualified, upon whom there is any just suspicion of a conservatism that has its support in the slightest degree in those questionable quarters where capitalism controls; but a leadership broad but firmly American, tolerant toward all classes, the tool of none; a leadership of vision and heroism that stands for government of, by, and for all the American people.

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Whether republican or democrat or some party yet unborn, one thing is certain, the future of the dominant political party in America will not be one of narrow partisanism but of broad political principles. Up to this time parties have succeeded in spite of breaks and inroads to hold together on partisan lines, elect representatives and other officials by party endorsement and get by with fulfilling the demands of the party, sometimes regardless of the demands of the people.

However, the day of reckoning has arrived, the national divisions have been broken, partisanism has become seriously disintegrated, long side-tracked principles with which both parties have played are championed by a different alignment of forces, and political parties must cease trimming and stand upon principles tolerantly but firmly championing representatively the people's interest in the spirit of real democracy.

We have been writing strange history during these months in which the party in power and its leaders have been repeatedly contradicting themselves. In order to maintain itself, the party of the future cannot bow to labor today and stoop to capital tomorrow, cater to the packers and manufacturers in the face of their demands one day and yield to a maddened consuming public the next.

The party that expects to stand the searching scrutiny of the American public must take its stand uncompromisingly or lose the respect of the people.

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The party that is to hold the hearts and the ballots of the people of this nation must leave aside largely its party stamp and its advocacy of principles as party principles, and enter the field on broad Americanism, not shunting a worthy issue because unprofitable or unpopular nor waiting to find a popular one on which to ride into power. It must make its campaigns on vital issues of the hour without compromise to any class, and advocate their solution in keeping with our great American fundamentals by and through those representative means provided the American people for the expression of their desires and the solution of their problems.

The triumphant party of the future will be a great progressive, instructive party dealing with American issues fairly, and with the American people in the open, helping to shape constructive national aims, as against the policy of dealing compromisingly in ways of emergency. Political leadership must recognize that the present situation demands a definite and immediate application of constructive policies to provide fundamental conditions for unqualified Americanism.

CHAPTER V

Providing Conditions for Americanism — The Application of Constructive Government

INASMUCH as we are asking these aliens to whom our country's doors have been opened, to accept citizenship in a nation whose principles are already well determined, and whose customs are sufficiently fixed to have become an established order, it is our duty if we wish them to become hearty advocates of Americanism and spontaneous supporters of America to shape the conditions in which these people are placed to the largest possible degree in keeping with the lofty standards to which we ask them to subscribe. The supreme obligation upon the part of our country in its attitude toward these aliens is not that of sentimentalism and sympathy, but to so condition their lives in the task in which they are engaged, and the situation in which they live, as to call out as large a degree of appreciation of, and responsiveness toward the nation as possible, and see that conditions are not forced upon them in a way to make them sulky, disinterested or treacherous, in the spirit of their new citizenship. We can win them to patriotic enthusiasm or we can drive them to sullen Bolshevism.

BETTER DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION

One of the greatest burdens on our nation's institutions against which no provision has been attempted,

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is the swiftly increasing urban population, and particularly the segregation of our foreign people since they began to come in large numbers. The rapid growth of our cities, especially those of larger order, is at best an unhealthy tendency, and should it keep on unchecked for another fifty years would cause such strain upon our institutions as to make impossible the holding of our life against social disintegration. The most serious problems of our nation today are contemporary with the growth of our cities. Fifty years ago this was largely a rural nation, and out of this rural life came our strongest leaders. Industrial problems were unknown in any such sense as we understand these problems today, industries were small, owners and workmen had much in common. There were no congested districts in our mill towns and other centers, because enterprises were not big enough to assemble large aggregations, and foreigners had not begun to come in sufficient numbers to cause segregation.

Within the last fifty years all this has changed, and so rapidly as to seem almost by magic. In 1880 our population was 71 percent rural and 29 percent urban, but in thirty years it had changed to 49 percent urban and 51 percent rural. Of the increase in population of the decade of the last census — 1900 to 1910 — amounting to nearly 16,000,000, seventenths was in urban territory. This is not only significant in itself as an abnormal change, but also because every such sudden increase of city over country intensifies the problem of good government.

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The cities which furnish the opportunities for the ambitious youth and the honest worker, also furnish the shortest road to wreck for the one, and the way of heaviest burdens for the other. It is here that we find the largest number of those who are disposed to live unproductively, those who prey upon the public, and those who seek to tear down the nation's standards and destroy its institutions. This disposition toward urban life furnishes the most difficult phase of our task of Americanization, for here are gathered nearly all our immigrants of recent years where they are hardest to reach and affect, and where assimilation is well-nigh impossible, both because there are no conditions for assimilation, and also because here the alien comes under influences opposed to Americanization.

In our early history, with smaller cities, the urban increase was largely from our own rural regions, or at least in sufficient numbers to furnish leaven and leadership to largely offset any extreme tendencies. Today, the city is swarmed with distracting types in numbers far beyond the influence of the more favorable elements. Segregation, then unknown to any hazardous extent, has now become the common state of things in every large city and also in our smaller industrial centers. The statistics reveal that as our cities grow the increase of foreign population is far ahead of the native, and the larger the city the higher the proportion of foreign to native increase. Here, we have not only the ever-growing problem of city versus country, but the added burden of this in-

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creased foreign aggregation to govern, and to educate in self-government in keeping with our customs; masses who have not acquired our language and who still practice other customs, and live in spirit in other lands. Had our nation been in the habit of anticipating issues through a policy of constructiveness we should have foreseen the inevitable outcome of this tendency and would doubtless have provided against it. These conditions are largely due to our habit of haste in getting rich without counting the cost to the future of our nation. We, who are the inheritors of institutions grander than those received by any people, we who have reaped the benefits of this wealth of national advantage, are planning little in correspondence for our successors, but are rather piling up, or allowing to accumulate, almost insoluble problems for the future.

If we are to bring about Americanization in the larger sense of making these people a vital part of our national constituency, we must do something to secure a breaking-up of these massed conditions, which are not altogether the result of choice, but, in a measure, of the helplessness of these people in the strange new world, which naturally tends to bind them together, especially since they nearly all land and become more or less stranded in some one of our great port cities. Once they are located they are not able to extricate themselves easily if so disposed. Some plan should be adopted to induce these people as they come not to settle in these centers. It may not be an easy thing to accomplish and will take time

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and patience to get it under way, but once started, the bulk of these are such creatures of circumstances that they would soon take on a different trend.

The departments of labor, immigration and agriculture working together, with as much co-operation of agriculturalists as possible, should urge upon industrial and labor leaders plans for this, and if necessary legislation should be enacted to enforce their plans, so that those who come in the future shall not be destined to these crowded centers, but scattered throughout the whole country as widely as possible.

DECENTRALIZATION OF INDUSTRIES

The centralization of population is due in a large degree of course to the centralization of industries. This began with the beginning of the nation's development along industrial lines. Before the use of steam, water power was found available in New England particularly, so that the unequal share of New England's industrialism comes not only from the fact that along the Atlantic coast the nation had its beginning, but because here were exceptional means of natural power. To add to this, the coast region from Boston to Philadelphia has necessarily been the landing place of nearly all the immigrants. Railroad facilities to these centers and to the docks have induced manufacturing in compact regions, on main railroad lines and about natural shipping centers.

The manufacturers were not concerned about the outcome of this tendency and the nation's leadership

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did not anticipate it with governmental consideration. The dense population within a hundred miles of Boston and New York, with its distracting world mixture, is to the nation like risking a ship loaded to its capacity with passengers all on one side.

The state of New York with its 9,000,000 population has more than 2,700,000 foreign born or almost 30 percent; while the little state of Massachusetts only about one-sixth the size has a population of approximately 3,500,000 and 1,152,000 or about the same percent of foreign born. For many years this state has had an annual influx into its narrow territory of about 100,000 aliens and now has 300,000 males over 21 years old unnaturalized. An inquiry by the War Efficiency Board and the Bureau of Immigration into the situation relative to foreign born in Massachusetts' industries disclosed the following:

From plants employing a total of 645,785 persons, there was a total foreign born of 299,269 or 46 percent. More than half of these were aliens. Of the foreign born, 38,113 spoke no English, 65,547 only slightly understood English. In this old state of the Puritans there are 118,000 persons ten years of age and over who are unable to read or write; in addition 215,000 persons above ten years are unable to read and write in English, and statistics show that more than 90 percent of these are 21 years of age and over. Of the six cities of the United States ranking highest in number of aliens and alien conditions, three of these are in Massachusetts.

The conditions indicated by these facts show the

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tendency toward industrial centralization with its alien hordes, which, could our nation have foreseen, would have been considered unbearable in a country with a theory of government by the people.

It will not be possible to modify greatly this sectional condition, and scatter industries only at the slow rate at which the center of population moves westward. But there should be immediate attempt to induce industries in these regions, when enlarging or rebuilding, to decentralize as much as possible within the general territory, and to prevail upon those in less populous sections of the country to follow this course, and if necessary put certain restrictions by law upon the future of industry that would forbid this custom of centralization.

The time has arrived when convenience for profits only, must yield in part to the best advantages to producers, and most healthy conditions for the nation. We cannot continue to give all the keenness and foresightedness in industry to production and profit. The future of industrialism lies in this direction, and if there are great monopolists who still determine to pursue the former course their career is not long-lived, for the rising tide of public sentiment together with the socializing trend will soon displace them. This policy accompanied by a plan of securing land sufficient for a home and good-sized garden to be bought by some fair means within the reach of the more thrifty workers would have a most wholesome effect upon the industrial situation.

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There should be discouragement of, if not direct action against, further combining and massing of industries and the huddling together of so large numbers of people in a single centralized location, making good living conditions almost impossible, especially with these masses who are without high standards of living. The habit of cornering the markets by great combinations goes hand in hand with the order that while grinding the public by its combined advantages, at the same time crushes its workers by making necessary such living conditions. If these combinations now existing cannot be broken they ought to be forced to separate into smaller units; this would help to cure one part of their oppression if not the other; some companies are already adopting this plan chiefly to make less troublesome the labor problem.

The wholesome effect of this upon workers is very noticeable. It takes them away from agitated centers where miserable conditions reinforce their discontent. They have a chance for a "home stake" which gives them a personal interest in their new country; "be it ever so humble there's no place like home," especially if they can call it their own home in reality and take interest in its improvement.

The pictures we see of the refugees in all parts of the war-torn world with the few belongings they have been able to hold, making their way back to their old home haunts regardless of the wrecked condition awaiting them, is convincing of the force of this. The writer recently observed in that beautiful

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valley a few miles out of Oakland, California, a large new automobile plant, entirely removed from the city, and clustered about it with plenty of open space were bungalows with fruitful gardens, where employees lived with fresh air, cleanliness and real home comforts, at the same time providing themselves with no small measure of the necessities of life. One could easily estimate the potency of such conditions as a quietus on unjustified industrial discontent, and a tonic conducive of genuine Americanism.

It is not possible to duplicate in all sections the conditions found in the California valley, but throughout most of our country, it is possible in a large measure, and to a considerable extent even crowded eastern conditions could be thus modified. In a small New England town where the United States government has a large permanent industrial plant, a goodly number of the employees own their homes, some of them having small farms of several acres, living quite independently and contentedly, with much more assurance for the future than many who are receiving very much larger compensation and living in crowded districts.

In a country that has long since come so largely under the dominance of the money-making instead of the nation-making idea, and where corporation interests are so firmly entrenched behind traditional customs, such objectives will have difficulty in gaining support. But unless we give attention to remedial policies in this direction and secure a change of trend, capital will share in the disaster that is sure to over-

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take the nation, for it will find impossible the defense of its position, much less will it be able to project its policy into the future.

CAPITAL MUST TAKE THE INITIATIVE FOR AMERICANISM

Capital has been slow in finding its limitations in this country. The uniform prosperity that has obtained with us as a nation for fifty years, which covers most of the period of capital's strength, has made for such tolerance or easy attitude toward it, that it has been able through our loose political practice to secure nearly all the defense against legislation it has needed. We are coming upon other times now, however, when capital may have to pay a bigger price for capitulation because it has delayed until labor is in the saddle as never before, democracy is in the air, and representative government is bound to be more truly representative of the will of all the people.

Capital will do well to begin to protect itself by a practice that will both break the power of labor against it and give it the sheltering approval of a rising representative public sentiment. The great stronghold of the labor element with its unions and strikes, often conducted with purely destructive instead of constructive tactics and temper, has been the incontrovertible fact that it has had to fight for every fair advantage it has ever gained. Capital may if it will in this crucial epoch take the club from labor, and by taking reasonable initiative in the interest of labor give itself a standing with the public,

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making secure its future as well as save the nation an ugly class condition. A recent writer speaks of labor's "next step," indicating that labor has not yet reached its objective, and that now is the time to make bold to utter its ultimatum or take the final step toward its full share in all features of industrialism. Capital should not permit labor to take the next step, but it should not attempt its prevention by defensive tactics but rather by taking the initiative in behalf of labor.

If labor moves to force industrial operations toward nationalization or anything in that direction, capital is not only sure to resist it, but a large body of the general public will at present take the side of capital, and whatever compromise is reached will only leave labor ready at such moment as seems opportune to take another step. All of which creates no basis for permanent settlement of the problem.

Labor's present temper is that of conquest and appropriation, with something of the Russian radicalism of living by appropriating what others have made rather than productively. It is not now so much inspired by wage increase and short hours as by a disposition to remove capitalistic control. Its demands are too much of the "hold-up" nature; there is little evidence throughout the entire country of the dominance of a disposition to be productively interested in industry. The state of mind now widespread if continued indefinitely would cause the whole industrial situation to collapse.

In the reconstruction period there is throughout

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the leading nations especially in Great Britain and the United States a keen interest in attempting to find a working basis for capital and labor, men on each side and also men of unbiased mind have been giving it consideration; commissions have been appointed, have reported and recommended but no cure has yet been discovered. Some concerns have tried out co-operative plans of various kinds, some reconcilers and specialists have offered programs, some of these have worked to a measure of satisfaction, some have failed. Extensive inquiries and observation end with the conviction that no plan suggested is sure of success or that any already measurably successful here or there can be depended upon to accomplish the desired end universally. Even the co-operative and profit-sharing policy which in principle seems absolutely necessary has not in any general way given guaranty of success, and will not with labor's present state of mind.

It is not a question of method but of spirit; no industrial policy will win with bad temper or unjust demands on either side. It must be clear to any thoughtful observer that this industrial situation could be worked out readily and satisfactorily if capital would in the right spirit and with the same determination with which it attempts increased efficiency and increased profits apply its leadership and expert management with all the genius of which they are possessed upon securing a working basis of co-operation between employer and employee.

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It is inconceivable that the great concerns that accomplish such wonders in productiveness could not find a way to accomplish an order of co-operation. No scheme ever so commendable can be foisted upon any situation, these must be worked out individually. The whole matter depends upon the disposition of capital to initiate heartily and bring labor thereby of its own accord, enforced by public sentiment, into a happy state of mind.

But whatever plans or programs are undertaken it must be remembered that the cure lies not in the form but in the spirit in which the move is made. To propose the method before the spirit is in possession of the parties, is to make only a mechanical move void of the elements of permanent conciliation and co-operation. For it must be more than adjustive, it must be constructive conciliation.

Capital must take the initiative because in no other way can there be established a genuine and permanent basis of conciliation. Announcement is made that the President is to call a conference of capital and labor to bring about a basic understanding between these as to the policy of co-operation to put an end to strikes. The weakness of such a plan is that it does not take into consideration the psychology of the situation. Called meetings will never settle this problem; even arbitration seldom becomes a permanent settlement if the trouble has its roots in any real injustice. These are forced conciliations. Forced perhaps happily, but nevertheless brought about by some kind of persuasive pressure. Labor is as much at fault as capi-

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tal and even more in this immediate situation; but the animus of this is not in the immediate situation, it lies far back of it.

Two facts must be considered in the present state of mind. First, capital is the primary party at fault. Capital has to a large extent made labor shiftless, unproductive and arrogant. Its earlier treatment is the background in which this has its roots. The second fact is, that capital still has the independent end of this controversy. Capitalists can live if their factories don't run. They also have the purchasing power in the deal. Because capital is primarily guilty, and still holds the power, there can be no temper generated that will make for abiding conciliation and co-operation until the one responsible for the present temper on the part of both, has taken the initiative, and thereby created confidence on the other side and a state of mind of its own no longer defensive.

The serious aspect of such a report as that of the Industrial Relations Commission, even though it is decidedly prejudiced, is that its statements are facts. The danger in the present labor state of mind is that it grows out of stubborn facts; the force of the laborers' contentions for control is that capital has failed, and this charge of failure is no fancy but fact. Capital has miserably failed; failed with all the skill at its command and all its influence over governmental processes; failed, wretchedly failed, in spite of this great nation's resources and all the responsibility that

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inevitably rests upon those who assume to so limit and determine the life of a hundred million people in the greatest nation on earth; and stands condemned at the bar of public opinion as having worse than wasted its opportunity and shirked its responsibility until the nation in a crisis is loaded with the wreck of its policies and the heritage of a national temper for which capital is responsible.

Such is the judgment of one of our great corporation heads whose business stands out in glaring distinction from the greedy and discriminating policy so generally pursued, Mr. John H. Patterson, of Dayton, Ohio, who is quoted as follows: "It is the heartlessness of some capitalists regardless of any consideration of their employees that is causing all the trouble. There are nine workmen to every capitalist, and labor will have the power to divide profits through making laws in Congress, and until the idle rich stop flaunting their wealth before the people we are going to have more and more trouble. Let us repent and stop doing the things that will goad the poor people on to hating and destroying the rich."

Our nation has gone mad, the simple life of frugality is hardly known, we are faced by unheard-of prices, how to live is the question everywhere, and yet we keep on spending with no apparent restraint. The laboring class are the greatest spenders proportionately, they and their children, far beyond the so-called middle class; the professional man has his limited income, he must be careful; the clerical class have their moderate salaries, they must be economi-

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cal, while the laboring man spends on and, when he reaches his limits, strikes for more pay.

Men seem to think that living must go down as wages go up; they can't seem to understand that more pay means higher prices in the great solidarity of today. We haven't enough to eat, to wear, and other essentials because we do not work enough to produce it, yet this idea seems remote and without consideration, as though wages could constantly increase, work grow less and the nation be able to live. We are said to be the most extravagant people in the world, and this universal extravagance and indulgence takes the finer qualities from us and robs the nation of discipline and force of character. But the rich set the pace, the idle rich, inheritors of fortunes and participants in dividends.

The vast centralization of wealth under control of individuals or corporations is an abnormal condition that no country of free government can permanently endure. The one great American crime for which at this late hour there is no cure, is the vast appropriation upon the part of individuals or corporations of the nation's wealth of natural resources. It is certain that if the public-spirited men of the past had been accustomed to look forward nationally, something would have been done to limit the extent to which these men or corporations should exhaust these stores of wealth that can never be replaced and which belonged to all the people.

When as is estimated 2 percent of the people of this country own 60 percent of the wealth and that

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there are 44 families with incomes of \$1,000,000 or more whose members perform little or no useful service, we need not be surprised that there are those who contend that the poor as well as the rich should live unproductively by violently appropriating their share. Unless these capitalists shall take the initiative in a better use of the wealth and a fairer distribution of its profits to the toilers who make it productive, there will come in the course of time (which many believed could be forced at this crisis) an overturning that will transform the present order or destroy the republic. Americanism stands interpreted before the world, and its principles condemn this gross inequality. For the strength of our Americanism and the continuance of its institutions capital is responsible.

We cannot effectively Americanize until America through this influence and power fulfils its ideals and creates American conditions. These capitalistic despoilers, who use their mighty wealth in part to subsidize American institutions, posing as benefactors, while supporting for the time the institutions as such, are also perverting the very principles for which the institutions stand. Portrayed as loyal Americans they misrepresent to all the toiling world our Americanism, and instead of being great builders of the nation they inject into it most destructive explosives.

THE ABSENTEE LANDLORD A MENACE TO AMERICANISM

Our country, which set a standard of equality, a country that has no history of traditional aristocracy

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or landlordism, has nevertheless, through unchecked personal freedom, permitted a similar custom to fix itself, so that in spite of our standards we have the extremes of wealth and of poverty in a degree probably not known elsewhere in the modern world.

It is not our wealth and our poverty, but the extremes of these so conspicuously over against each other that mar our life and spoil our temper as a nation of mixed population. Corresponding with this is that perplexing industrial condition that comes with the growth of vast combinations, and with remote and inactive investors and participants in profits, and the pushing of the real employer farther and farther from the laborer, with numbers of men in between to take the brunt of the offense, that greatly provokes the labor problem of today. And when that employer as an individual is absolutely lost to public sight, as when a single banking house controls the labor destinies of three-fourths of a million laborers, it is easy to understand how corporations are without souls, and hence without concern for the souls or bodies of those who serve them.

The absentee landlord cares nothing, and does not intend to come near enough to be made to care. The man who conducts a business, though it may be large, in a small outlying community where people know each other, and who is personally within range of the living conditions of his men, has much less labor trouble. He may live in a much better house, but he is not so remote from his rank and file, there is more

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in common, it makes for the spirit of democracy and such democracy makes for good will and good feeling.

It is much like the condition that obtains in the army. In many posts the writer found commanders much disliked by their men, who were only waiting for their freedom to vent their feelings, which some of them are now doing to the serious embarrassment of the War Department. These officers were aristocrats or "would-be" aristocrats, who held themselves aloof with almost scornful attitude toward the rank and file. But there were occasional posts where the men would do anything for their commander, they loved him, he was one of them. This is the way human nature operates.

This remoteness of owners, oftentimes with carelessness if not contempt for the lives of their employees, is a growing evil which every year must reckon with, and pay the price of in ill will, and a loss of the standing of capital with the general public.

The absentee landlord is the cause in a very large measure of our unamericanism and the other ills that defy the efforts to save society and the nation from degeneration and collapse. One of the best movements for public good in recent years is the "Housing Commission" which is now established in many of our cities and which is destined in time to become universal. It is, however, greatly handicapped by lack of legislation. In our great cities this is a slow process, but conditions have become so serious in these dense sections that something must be done to save the city and deliver the people. Congestion in

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these districts of the great cities is due chiefly to the segregative racial habit, and not as is sometimes excused because of cheap rent.

Mr. Cornelius Parker of the Massachusetts Homestead Commission, writing in advocacy of a bill for housing then before the Massachusetts Legislature, says: "The argument has been advanced that people must have cheap homes somewhere because the laboring people cannot afford to pay high prices. Peculiarly enough, in some of the buildings such as I have referred to as being, at least as to their physical aspect, 'slums,' I have found rents higher per room than in the comfortable well-built house in the suburban districts. In other words, when you permit a very intensive use of land the price of the rents keeps pace or outstrips the use." In many instances the people residing in such districts are in a measure to blame, some of them become habituated to their conditions, and though able to live elsewhere remain in these sections. This is particularly true of the Jews and the Italians. The writer's barber is an Italian who has lived in this country nearly 20 years, is an American citizen, has a large shop and is making money, but lives in Boston's North End, said to be the most densely populated quarter of any city in this country.

These city slums, however, are not altogether the fault of the landlord; the residents in large measure share the responsibility. In the foreign districts it is due largely to the segregative habit, and in mixed sections not a little to low ideals, lack of ambition,

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the whisky habit and other kindred evils. But this is not the case to any considerable degree in the strictly industrial situations. The living conditions in these are largely the responsibility of the industrial concerns. For in these locations it is generally true that the town or city that is given over to, and dependent upon, these industries is controlled by the industrial heads, and subservient to their dictation, to such an extent that the city itself is unable to take any drastic course in correction of these conditions.

In the instance of a large eastern mill town which has come to be known throughout the land for its industrial unrest neither the owners of the mills nor any of the major officers live in or near the industrial center but in remote and socially exclusive regions.

The small but powerful part of society that lives from the profits of labor and lives remote from its servile masses, not caring how they live, determined not to come near enough to care, are fit companions for a militarist who orders his men into battle to gratify his ambition regardless of the sacrifice of life, while he stays safely behind the lines. Such deserve ostracism and banishment as the humanly unfit. They should be given not the distinguished exclusiveness they seek among the elect but should be deserted by all self-respecting people, left colonized in the exclusions of those who are tabooed as America's most undesirables, so have they violated and trampled upon these dearest principles of Americanism.

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Mr. Charles Sumner Bird, a well-known manufacturer, who is vitally interested in progressive political policies, in a recent newspaper interview said: "The wretched housing conditions in some of our cities is, as I see it, a contributing cause of industrial unrest and disorder." In answer to an inquiry he makes the following statement: "It seems to be true that better citizens would be developed if a better understanding could be established between the employer and employee and thereby bring each party of industrial disputes to a clear recognition of the perplexities and burdens of industrial problems." He further says: "Where the stockholders of large corporations reside far away from the seat of operation there is little chance for a mutual understanding of the problems of industrial life. The criminal disorders which have occurred in factory communities would have been much less in number if in each case the parties to the dispute could have met face to face long before the controversy reached the acute stage."

Mr. Bird, whose large industry is in a small town and under the immediate direction of himself and his son, knows the value of the wholesome conditions growing out of this relation. Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who lays down his creed that "labor and capital are partners" will have difficulty in putting his creed into effect with a great moneyed corporation directing from New York to the miners in Colorado, instead of by personal observation, contact and association. Mr. Bird, living in the same community with

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his workmen, their living conditions easily within his observation, and with opportunity for more or less constant contact with his laborers, is able to practice a creed of relationship.

There are tendencies to improve these conditions, and some concerns that have long withstood the pressure have taken initiative in this direction. The American Woolen Company, for example, has just announced an extensive plan of home-building which if carried out in keeping with the prospectus should be a great relief to some of its very serious conditions. The success of these plans, however, will depend largely upon the motive in which they are undertaken. Such departures, if introduced by concerns who have a record of exploiting labor, or have been indifferent as to labor's rightful share and its living conditions, will find themselves under the handicap of having their purpose looked upon as one to which they were forced as an expedient rather than a just consideration of what is fair.

Welfare work has its place, but it is not a substitute for a just share and fair treatment. A welfare policy has a softening effect upon the mechanical and inhuman conditions in industry, which are harsher and more deadening to the imagination and higher qualities of life than were the cruder conditions of former days when there was play for genius and initiative. And when provided by men like Mr. Patterson, whose creed is to help people by education and opportunity without regard to whether it pays in business or not, and whose great home is not in some remote exclusive

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settlement, but where it makes him one with the thousands whom he serves quite as much as they serve him, such a policy of welfare is not an innovation introduced in the interest of safety, and is, therefore, largely free from prejudice and a permanent factor against industrial discontent and unamericanism.

At this time, when we are trying to provide conditions to engender a voluntary interest of aliens in Americanization, and inasmuch as in our basic industries the employees are from 50 to 85 percent of the alien class we must not adopt policies that will affect them unfavorably. We do not want citizenship induced by charity but by the favorable impressions made upon them through consistency with the standards our nation has placed before them. If we would abolish the unamericanism among us, we must correct those practices against that great body of people, the laboring class, into which by virtue of their position and conditions these aliens largely fall.

THE FARM AS A DETERMINING FACTOR IN THE FUTURE OF AMERICA

The most hopeful outlook for the adjustment of our crowded population and the genuine assimilation of the alien to our national order, as well as the surest safeguard against the destructive spirit which is abroad, is that long-overlooked opportunity for agricultural pursuits, and by this the scattering of these peoples more generously into the open country, separating them from the misleading, unhealthy, artificial

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influences, and placing them next to the pure, true and undeceiving nature world.

The owner of a farm though his holdings are small is the subject of influences that greatly counteract extreme tendencies. If unamerican doctrines find any lodgment with him they are soon displaced by stronger personal reasons than any theory can effect. He is in possession of a bit of tangible world upon which he can place his feet, over which he can fix his gaze; and this is to the simple-hearted man an anchorage that no dreams of unrealized Utopias can disturb, and connects him with the country of which this is a part, and makes it his country with peculiar interest.

Having been reared on a farm, the writer can say as the result of observations extending from boyhood, that it is not the size of a man's farm nor the amount of his product, or even success of his pursuit upon which the sense of his security and his satisfaction depends. Rich or poor, largely or meagerly successful, he feels his freedom and glories in the measure of independence which he enjoys. This is a real tonic toward national loyalty.

Had the proposition of the Non-partisan League, for instance, been something of corresponding order among our industrial element for profit-sharing, instead of among farmers, it might have spread like wildfire once it made such a start, and have become a revolution; but schemes that lead toward the modification of individual property rights, as all extreme socialistic plans do, having in them the roots of com-

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mon holdings, can never carry beyond a certain point with farmers. The freedom and justice they are seeking is not only a freedom from the greed and graft of those who stand between them and their just profits, but it is equally a freedom to do as they please with what is theirs, so long as they do not interfere with the rights of others, and to do so because it is theirs. This is the right of an American, and this is why the American farmer is the most secure and contented man in the world.

The conditions that have left the alien in the city quarter or confined him in the industrial center, have kept him from the farm. He dislikes to separate from his kin and those who speak his tongue; and having come here chiefly to better himself in the making of a living, the money available at once is desirable and perhaps necessary and it is much easier to find a job where there are many places to be filled than to make one's way to the farm in search of work. Hence only a small percent find their way into the country except those races that come with that intention.

Up to this time about 85 percent of those who pursue agriculture in this country are native stock (75 percent native white), leaving only about 15 percent foreign born, thus engaged. There has never been any considerable number of people with agricultural destination among all our alien groups except the earlier German, Dutch and Scandinavian races, who are found in large thrifty settlements in certain states.

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Through a policy encouraging agricultural life we have a possible relief from overcrowded conditions which if it did not measurably affect our present situation could with proper plans be the means of lessening the cityward tendency with those coming in the future.

This would not only tend toward breaking up, and in time, bringing an end to the intense segregative tendency, but furnish the condition for effective assimilation. The smaller the unit in this leavening process the more thorough. Farmers are dependent upon each other; not so much so as in the earlier days, but still dependent. A single foreigner is much more likely to associate with one neighbor in the country than is one foreigner to associate with one native in the dense communities where even natives scarcely know each other. In the rural districts they are not only largely free from the poisoning influences of agitators, but also from the impressions made by daily observations that make for a feeling of discrimination. These aliens are impressed with the extreme of wealth and superior advantage over against the opposite so constantly in view in the great centers.

In the country there are no such wide distinctions. Some farmers may be far better situated than their neighbors, a few may even be rich to a degree, but rarely does their situation stand out in glaring contrast with that of their neighbor who is poor.

The farm laborer, too, is not exposed to a sense of subjection or discrimination to so great a degree as the industrial worker. He holds very much the same

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relation to the employer as did the worker in the small shop of earlier days when strikes and their grievances were unknown. He is not removed from his employer by unreconciling machinery and routine, nor by any decided superiority of condition that tends against conciliation; he is on a nearer level and in close and approachable proximity, in which differences are more easily adjusted. He may not eat at the same table, he may live in a cottage on the farm or in his own or hired house near by, but there is little to provoke a feeling of unfavorable class distinction. These are great assets in making a man feel at home and one with those who represent to him the land of his adoption. In addition to this he begins to wish he, too, could have a farm, and learns that he can rent and if thrifty he can later buy. It is estimated that in some sections of our country from 50 to 70 percent of farm laborers ultimately become farm owners. Even if the aliens come in numbers and tend to colonize—which is undesirable—there will be, with the spirit that now obtains, little difficulty in Americanizing them. The schoolhouse is in every neighborhood, and since the war it will be an American schoolhouse with all it stands for. The modes of travel and means of intercourse make against exclusiveness, everyone knows every other one in a short time, conventions are not thought of, social intercourse is simple and natural. They learn of each other, and of those more advanced, and are in many instances, through the recent development of government agricultural plans, looked after by special

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agents like the County Farm Superintendent. They assemble in the Grange and on other community occasions of informal nature and, if unused to our ways, and unattached to our country as yet, they will not long remain so; the work of Americanization will be rapid, normal, wholesome and genuine, and these people will be built gradually into the very life of the nation.

There is another aspect of this rural situation which at present is of much concern to the American people. While immigration and centralization of population have been growing and our industrial developments have greatly increased our food problem, the rural districts have been suffering from a lack of promoters of agricultural conditions to provide for the present and safeguard the future. Young people for several generations have been leaving the country for the city and industrial towns, a few of these to achieve real success in the larger world of enterprise, but the majority to be swallowed up in the great whirl where they live in crowded districts unfavorable to health and exposed to the grinding effects of the harsh untempered commercial world, while they might have enjoyed quite as much with a simpler and safer life in the country, with greater value to the nation and the next generation.

As a result of this, farms are deserted or leased, the rural regions in many sections have suffered decay, and the thrifty little village centers have become decadent and degenerate for lack of virility, only the lesser type, in many instances, remaining. This ac-

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counts in no small measure for the fact revealed by the selective draft, that the deficiency in young men was greater from rural than urban life, a condition that a generation or two ago would doubtless have been reversed. We need this change of population in order to provide food, to better equalize the burden of society, and to save our future agriculturally. The tendency to reduce the size of farms is favorable to this change, because it makes for intensive farming and a more general independence, and makes the whole nation safer in any crisis to which it is exposed because of vast exploitive industrial enterprises.

The farm does not afford the opportunity for so large achievement for the exceptional genius, nor quite so much in the way of luxuries, but in these days in most of our country there is little isolation such as once obtained. The rural delivery brings the daily paper, the telephone is available, the automobile is said to be owned by farmers more than any other class, and the electric car connects him in many of our rural districts with the larger world outside, and above all life is more wholesome, thoughtful and securer from the exigencies common to highly organized civilization. The smaller and more intensive farming of the future, with the great advantages of scientific knowledge which the government is putting within the reach of all, will make available small and hitherto unused tracts of land.

This tendency, which is bound to come, and which should receive all possible encouragement, makes a larger opening for the foreign population, which in

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many instances has shown skill in intensive farming, practices of which some brought from the old world.

The principle of co-operation, which must prevail in the solution of our labor and commercial problems, will be much encouraged by movements in the agricultural sphere where there is no such spirit of competition and little to generate it. From earliest times farmers have co-operated in what used to be called "changing work"; on account of the lack of labor there is now in many parts of the country an increased disposition and plans for similar co-operation. This idea holds great possibilities; not only in productive effort but in buying and marketing.

This is well illustrated in the instance of a Grange in the great potato region of Aroostook County, Maine; one of the largest if not the largest Grange in the country, having eleven hundred members. This Grange began at first to buy farm supplies by several clubbing together; finally twenty years ago they built a store, stocked it with goods to sell to grangers only, at a margin just sufficient to safely cover expense. It has grown through the years until now they have a store stocked with \$175,000 worth of goods and a Roller Flour Mill and have done business in one year to an amount as large as \$680,000, with great saving to the farmers.

Difficult as may seem such a plan for relieving the segregated situation there are some encouraging aspects. We are not operating against racial instincts nor traditions, for so large a majority of these aliens before coming here knew only the tilling of the soil.

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We had some encouragement recently, among the younger generation, in the interest they showed in war gardening; and also the possibility of being able to secure response to the countryward appeal in the report of the high-school boys who went from the city to assist on farms in war time. Of several hundred from the city of Chicago one season the *Chicago Tribune* reported that a record kept by a card system showed more than 95 percent efficiency. Such a percent could not have been secured without natural interest. No doubt there was among these the full proportion of boys of foreign parentage. We have always assumed that country boys and girls would go to the city, but have not considered it possible to attract city boys to the country. This incident with others proves that there is the possibility, with the present improved conditions, that we have been mistaken in this, and our assumption that most foreigners will not leave the centers under right conditions may not be well founded when so large a percent of these were originally agriculturalists.

The method of bringing about a rural trend upon the part of the aliens should be worked out, as previously suggested, by the departments of our government that have to do with Immigration, Labor, Education and Agriculture, which, with all the data they can so easily command, should have no difficulty in reaching some feasible plan. Secretary Lane has a project for the placement of returned soldiers which at this writing has not been approved by Congress; but, regardless of its merits in detail, it has put be-

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fore the nation a great deal of excellent data and suggestion that is indicative of governmental foresightedness, and no doubt furnishes the fundamentals for a constructive policy. Extensive conferences with soldiers upon the part of the writer bear out the statement of the Department of the Interior to the effect that there was keen and extensive interest upon the part of the soldiers in this proposal. One of the wholesome aspects of the after-war disposition of many soldiers hitherto shut up in shops and offices is that, having had a touch of life in the open with the result of greatly increased vigor, they are eager to live the out-of-door life; as was expressed by one fellow with ruddy, shining face, "No more ribbon-counters for me." The Secretary of the Interior, who has done the nation a great service in providing information relative to our unused land, has shown us what possibilities we have in that direction. Our land employs and supports, even that already under cultivation, an amazingly small number of people. Mr. Vanderlip in a published statement has recently said that while England employs in agriculture 46 persons per one hundred acres, we employ only 2.64 per hundred acres. Besides the possibility of agricultural expansion indicated by this, is the vast unredeemed sections awaiting development.

The state of California has a very successful experiment in State Land Settlement at Durham which is worthy of consideration upon the part of other states. At first this plan does not seem to come within the reach of many who would be most benefited by it,

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because in order to secure a farm it is necessary to pay \$1,000 to \$1,500 down; but there is another feature which provides for the worthy but moneyless man. The farm laborer can become a member of this community by paying only \$20.00 down and soon be able to erect his own bungalow and share in the community spirit and work his way toward ownership.

Two aspects of this plan are of special interest in this discussion. The entire division of land was laid out carefully in the beginning and twenty-two acres reserved for community purposes to be utilized in the development of the settlement. One of the handicaps in holding people to rural life, especially if remote, and of securing interest of foreigners toward such life, is the lack of fellowship. It makes little difference what type of people, everybody likes some kind of sociability. The farm is not dreary nowadays if within easy automobile distance of a bright, busy town center. It is not easy to provide that center if there is no near town or village of size enough to meet this demand. The California plan aims at such a center that will have normal development with the settlement. The commission reports a large measure of co-operation among the farmers and one of the most gratifying aspects is that of the growth of a fine community spirit. Another interesting feature is that this community is not constituted of any one class or race but of a dozen races, which affords a fine chance for assimilation.

There is no reason why we should not in all our states, by co-operation of state and federal govern-

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ment, adopt some such plan in attempt to secure this change of trend and the better balancing of our urban and rural population, and as a most desirable opening for the more stable and thrifty aliens.

Canada has for years encouraged agriculturalist immigration almost entirely and is now emphasizing this by admitting only those she needs, and can assimilate, and who will not become a burden. If we care for the future of our nation and for the menacing problems of today we should either close our doors to all immigrants whose destination as to pursuit and place among us is not clearly defined, or else provide for the direction and location of these masses.

AMERICA MUST BE CONSISTENT WITH HER IDEALS

The contention of this discussion is that this nation cannot be made safe by a policy that leaves the ruling class free to impose upon others until they have so far over-reached that they must be checked or the nation be endangered; and that we cannot hope to bring the alien into citizenship with a devotion to the country that is spontaneous and genuine, except by establishing his confidence in the nation and its policies; and that this cannot be done other than by making the conditions of American life, especially those that immediately affect him, consistent with our national ideals, to which he is asked to subscribe.

We have in these foreign peoples deeply fixed states of mind to meet, and although they show tendency to cling to the mother tongue and native customs, and

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have that natural regard for the traditions of the land of their nativity, they have, nevertheless, very strong feelings against the governments of these lands which have left them in darkness and under the yoke of oppression. It is our task to make our nation free from even the appearance of those influences that haunt them from the old world. It is not easy to make them see that the over-riding practices of privileged classes are not a part of the same thing they had hoped to leave behind them when they came to the land of the free. They cannot readily appreciate that the practices of injustice they meet here are no part of our written government, no part of our fundamental purpose or spirit, and have no sanction in law, but are only an abuse of our national standards and tolerated for lack of sufficient public spirit to overcome them. Our own people understand, because they have no haunting background of tyranny from which by revolution or reform or immigration they have torn themselves, but these narrow-visioned people do not comprehend the story of American development, and the struggle between giving ambitions their widest range in a land of unprecedented opportunity and restraining these ambitions from being realized upon the part of a few at the expense of the many. They are not interested in this evolution, they cannot see that it is a part of that great process by which this people is being prepared in temper to mould a world nation and set a standard for world fellowship. They are only impressed with what they see and by the warped construction put upon this

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picture by those who attempt to discount the nation to the stranger so recently within our gates.

The extent to which these glaring inconsistencies with American ideals were carried during the war was such that though our rich men's sons saved us from the stigma that this was a rich man's war, we were not saved from the tragic fact that out of this war, without apparent qualms of conscience, rich men were made by thousands and to the vast fortunes of others were added sums that ought to make a nation blush.

In a ten-thousand-mile tour of this country recently, the writer did not visit a city in which attention was not called without apology to numbers of men who had made fortunes out of the war. A man who is manager of a large retail store, in commenting upon the condition of business, said blushing, "I think the business men are nearly all sorry the war is over; that," said he, "shows how selfish we are." These glaring inconsistencies with our ideals must disappear.

For half a century we have stressed "America another name for opportunity" and in so doing we have unbalanced our own nation and cultivated a nation-wrecking disposition and misled our alien sons as well. We have been living for today as though we were renters here, sapping our nation's vital forces with little thought of the future. The nation must find a more wholesome course. Responsibility must keep pace with opportunity. Our coming citizens must see in us signs of national concern that do not always stress business prosperity at the loss of na-

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tional prosperity; only thus can we lift these citizens by adoption out of the position of a burden or menace to that of a real national asset.

This war that carried with it, and left behind it, among men of fixed business habits so much shameful selfishness, has also left to us a new heritage in younger men of business, whose vision has been clarified, and who see in life and relation to country a new course of higher vantage and greater satisfaction, and these are to furnish new leadership and set new standards for our nation. Only today the papers announce that a splendid young man is leaving a fine position with a great business concern of nation-wide reputation, giving up a ten-thousand-dollar salary with possibilities, no doubt, far beyond that, to accept a professorship in one of our institutions of learning for a small compensation. The reason he is quoted as giving is, that he has had a new vision of duty growing out of the war, and feels that he will find far greater pleasure in helping to shape the course of young business men along the higher lines of consistency with our ideals, than any mere money-making pursuit could bring. The need of the hour is to make this land which is everywhere known as the land where one man is as good as another, to be to all who have cast their lot with us, all that it is represented to be, for we stand or fall together. Favoritism must vanish and this government must be of the people, by the people, and for all the people, for "this country will never be safe for any of us until it is safe for all of us."

CHAPTER VI

The Neighborhood and the Nation

OUR national life began with the community at the front. The functioning of the community as such was determined both by the physical necessities of the people and by the motives dominant with them in their settlements in the new world. The south with its open winters and its entirely different kind of enterprise together with the type of people brought for plantation labor did not make for a community life closely knit. But the long winters in New England, the necessity of co-operation and the absence of any class distinction provided for a close and co-operative community order. It was not planned, it came of circumstances, common desires and motives. The beginning of American community life with a forecast of democratic government is instanced in the town of Dedham, Massachusetts, where in 1636 they made the first move toward a kind of official conduct of the communities affairs. One of the first things recorded is of a democratic nature: "Ordered that on the next Fair day every man of our society shall meet at the footway and assist to mend the same, and soe many as can bring wheelbarrowes." Out of this grew the next year the real New England town idea and they delegated on their own initiative certain of their number the

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authority to handle the interests of the community, though not until 1640 were the real offices created and named.

This was born of no definite traditional practice which they had transferred from the old world. It was not a deliberate attempt at democracy, though it was democracy, for only such a spirit could find any place with a people coming here with such motives and faced by such conditions. The old New England town idea with its town-meeting practice has probably been the model of more movements and has had more influence in shaping America's public course than any other early custom.

This simple community idea held us largely to our course through our early history until the nation began to take on its larger proportion and its ambitious spirit, and our development brought about a transformed situation through the centralization of population; then the community spirit disappeared in exclusive urban life, and the unit for public concerns was largely lost, except as the politicians' appeal aroused it, and then it did not function spontaneously nor inspire deliberate community initiative for public welfare.

Correspondingly, the extension of our national territory dispersed our population over a vast area; this placed many neighborhoods so remote from our nation's capital and state governmental centers, that interest in government except as stirred by periodic campaigns was very slight. The larger the cities and the more crowded their life, the more

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independent of each other the people became; and the more remote others were from centers, the more were they inclined to feel that governmental matters were without interest to them, and that these were determined through the centralized masses, and by the gigantic enterprises controlled by the few. Democracy had been losing its vital grip, and a government by all, and for all the people was a splendid theory that multitudes did not take seriously.

THE WAR GIVES BACK THE NEIGHBORHOOD

For some time before the war there had been observations of this trend, and here and there a voice was heard calling us back to the nation's original governmental unit, but with little avail. Then the great war program reached out into the smallest and remotest neighborhood in the land, orators broke into these towns with patriotic appeals to prepare for their part in the struggle of their country. At first the effect was not great, some of these peoples were yet far from the scenes and perils of war, and still remote from the nation's capital, now vibrant with the meaning of the world menace. Finally came the draft, the government at Washington suddenly laid hold of the boys of these neighborhoods and commanded them for the defense of this country on the ground that it was *their* country. Then these communities were suddenly transferred in their interest, some of them from five hundred, others a thousand and two thousand miles away, to the very

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gates of the nation's capital. A government that had let these people so thoroughly alone had now laid hold upon their sons and made them defenders of their country. From that time on, during the painful, heartrending months that followed, these communities changed from indifferent fragments of a great nation to neighborhoods throbbing with national concern, and with patriotic devotion in sympathy with the nation's great program. It broke into the city exclusiveness and down into the foreign quarters; in the first, men canvassed their neighbors, organized district units that became a nucleus for a common effort; in the alien sections the boys in uniform became a source of pride, and these people, too, became possessed of a new kind of neighborhood clannishness, by a sympathetic concern for the common cause under the flag that now took on a new meaning.

The community idea was revived, the neighborhood spirit was fired. The transformation was witnessed by the writer from Maine to California and from the Gulf to the northern woods of Michigan. This interest grew so rapidly that in a few weeks women were meeting day after day, planning and working for the various interests that would carry comfort and courage to their boys in the camps and at the front. With burning enthusiasm men sought each other in assemblies that knew no division on any ground, religious, social, commercial or political. Differences vanished and a wonderful spirit of unification and co-operation put everything else aside

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and subordinated all to the great public concern of the hour.

This community spirit was caught up in the cities and towns where military posts were located, and the local people ministered to the soldiers; this all helped to bring the boys closer together in the camps and to bridge more easily the wide differences between these men who had been so suddenly thrust upon a democratic level. Here our boys learned a life of real comradeship, preparing and fighting shoulder to shoulder in a common cause; and here the work of Americanization was carried on by instruction, by example and by inspiration as our sons native and foreign drilled and marched and sang and cheered under a single flag in a common bond. It was reported that forty different languages were spoken at Camp Devens, but they all received their information, instruction and commands in the language of America. These were evidences of national unity forged in the stress of a great common cause.

In a democracy there must be a unit through which public opinion will give concrete expression toward governmental policies. People cannot act effectively in public matters where majorities rule except by some means of intelligent understanding among themselves. One of the weaknesses in the administration of popular government is that the people who stand for things that make for the public good do not get together, while those selfishly interested have a common or community understanding,

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from New York's Tammany down to the gang that often controls in the smallest village. The only way to overcome such combinations is to create a community of interests in each and all the communities where local matters affect every one. Then they will see that this interest extended to state and national matters will correct the evils corresponding throughout the nation.

Inasmuch as it is not possible to have pure national democracy in a great country like ours; and inasmuch as sections, states or even large cities cannot get together and express themselves with freedom to each other and effect understandings that save votes from miscarriage; each community up to such size as can be so wielded, and each larger aggregation divided into neighborhoods, should create community units for government initiative. These should be by the most natural divisions possible and every voter should belong to some distinctly democratic unit which will reflect the interest of all units for city, state and nation. This will cause democracy to actually function; this will give us interested citizens and make for real majority government.

GETTING TOGETHER FOR THE COMMON GOOD

The first thing necessary to the accomplishment of a community purpose in furthering Americanism, is a general getting together for the common good, and an understanding that amounts to a community creed.

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There has been for many years a growing feeling throughout the civilized world that the time was approaching when nations and peoples should put an end to strife and its destructiveness, and put into effect a policy of co-operation for the good of all. But when this seemed to have largest hopes of realization suddenly to our astonishment there broke upon the world an unjustifiable and brutal war that has called forth all the bad temper of the nations. There had been no attempt of the nations to cultivate co-operation, no purpose to effect an understanding on the basis of interests held in common. Now after having suffered a world scourge from our neglect and our jealous fears, we are attempting to impose a world order from a centralized authority without effecting first an understanding and bringing about a spirit of fellowship.

This is seeking to effect democracy by disregarding its fundamental principle of operation which must be from the individual nation or group to the larger inclusiveness. Democracy means giving the individual a chance; this policy does not consider the individual but imposes assumed authority of a self-constituted high tribunal and is an imperialistic practice that destroys the very basis of democratic peace. We can have real co-operation of nations only by the initiative of the individual nations bringing others by spontaneous decision into a spiritual fellowship of common concern. If we wish to further the democracy for which we have fought and thus solve our own national problems and save the waste

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that goes on under excessive competition we must find a common basis of fellowship, a common creed for co-operation in all interests that make for the general good.

One of the difficulties in establishing co-operative policies in our country and in securing governmental purpose along this line, is the traditional emphasis allowed to individualism due in a large measure to the very thing we boast of, equality of opportunity. We are now having no little trouble with radical elements who insist that this individualistic policy so long pursued by those who have been able to acquire fortunes for themselves, if not at the expense of others, at least without regard to them, warrants a large measure of individual freedom for those who are trying regardless of law to bring this practice to an end.

America began in an individualistic way; this was safe so long as men lived largely by direct personal productiveness; but when the nation took on its complex industrialism and commercialism and men began to live to so large an extent by the productiveness of others, there should have been some governmental forethought that would have taken into consideration to what this would inevitably lead. Unfortunately, the nation was given over to an era of professional politics committed too largely to the interests of sections, groups and individuals, rather than to the nation; hence the present crisis. To correct this is most difficult, for it has reached into every ramification of our life, down to

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men of smallest business affairs, and at the top is held by an almost iron grip through commercial pressure upon the agencies of government. We are thus today faced by a problem with which the constituency of the nation has become impatient, and is demanding that an absurdly inconsistent situation be brought to an end without delay. The cost of living instead of diminishing is increasing, and yet it is well known there is a generous supply of all necessities held by the nation's lawless profiteers. This practice must be broken. We may not hope for this quickly nor easily, it is too firmly entrenched and has too many interested backers, with vast purchasing power, in politics.

We shall not more than temporarily check it through drastic action. We shall only correct our evils as the people take hold of them, and put behind every legislator, from every neighborhood, elected for representative purposes, an insistent sentiment for justice, fairness, and co-operation instead of unlimited competition and monopoly.

It was understood by our fighters and the great rank and file of our people behind them, that this was to be a war to end wars. Let us not conclude that such an end can be determined by principles or policies of imposed order. It will only come about by putting into practice the opposite principle of co-operation instead of contention. War never ended war as two wrongs never made a right; so no provision against war that stresses enforcement by war, like the League of Nations proposal, can ever

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put an end to war. The spirit of competition, rivalry, jealousy, determination to outdo, if necessary by undoing, is behind all war. Until we put into operation a positive opposite movement that will neutralize the potential war spirit there will be no permanent peace, for democracy means getting people to live happily and helpfully together.

The great principle of self-determination so long forbidden small nations and for which principle we claim to have fought, has been denied peoples because it has been denied the individual. It has been because men considered themselves privileged to take advantage of individuals that groups of people and nations have continued to take advantage of others. We must put into effect in the community the public spirit which took us into this great world struggle. We have not done our best toward world self-determination until we have put into practice in the direct relations of community life that policy that will enable every man, native and foreign born, to secure his best by freedom from handicaps and achieve his best by all those co-operative agencies that men can control for the common good.

The reason why most plans launched for democratizing purposes have failed, is because they have not found a medium ground of largest advantage to the individual without interfering with the common good. We can never further democracy if we ignore individual liberty and opportunity, and we cannot make democracy a workable creed if that provision for the individual interferes with the common good.

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The extreme ideas of socialism to offset extreme practices of individualism have opposed fundamentally the very things for which men long and fight. Humanity is not reducible to a common level that makes no room for individual opinion or achievement. Could we swing the vast multitude of workers in all departments and on all levels of our life under a governmental paternal plan similar to that under which our thousands of governmental employees work at our national capital, we would reduce our nation to a constituency of ambitionless, unenterprising folk, out of which would disappear the genius and leadership which make for human progress. Our American creed should be, helping others to help themselves. Such a creed is neither for the crowding of individuals to a common level, nor for the melting of all opinions into one. It is, rather, a creed that rises above the individual and his opinion to a higher level in which in all respects all individual and group opinions and interests are subordinated to the larger concern of all the people, because in a democracy the individual has his largest life when all live at their best.

We have an example of this in our national government. Each of our forty-eight states has its individual state interests, and its rights as to how it shall best conserve these, and generally they are not interfered with. However, when any issue arises that concerns all the states, or an emergency like a great war for national defense, each state subordinates by federal authority its will to the collective

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will of all the states for the larger, the national good. In like manner a common creed subordinates whenever necessary all community, factional and individual opinion and interest to the collective opinion or what is best for the community as a whole. It is well understood that we can live independently up to a certain point, beyond that we live collectively, and disregard for this leads to anarchy over one road or another.

A community creed does not necessarily mean that every individual enterprise shall be displaced by a commonly conducted enterprise in the interest of all; but it does mean that competition shall give way to co-operation to the extent of avoiding unnecessary waste. It does not insist on reducing social and fraternal organizations to a single order for all the community, with no regard for the tastes of groups of people and their profit and pleasure; but it would make clear to all broad-minded, public-spirited men and women that such orders may be so strongly individualized that though they are intended for genuine helpfulness their professed inclusiveness may make for exclusiveness and for rivalry instead of co-operation.

The community creed does not suggest, much as it may be desirable, and ridiculous as sometimes seems the sectarian individualistic contentions of the religious bodies, that they all merge in a common meeting place, but it does mean that for the common good their individual creeds and customs should yield on all general welfare matters, which would

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lead to a more complete unity and less divisions, which are often the source of most dissensions and lack of hearty community co-operation. If we are to have an undivided country, one flag and a single standard for all our people, that will bring all our alien citizens to join undividedly with us, we must have the basis for this in the larger spirit of Americanism in every community of our land.

• THE FORUM A SAFETY-VALVE AND OPINION-MAKER

Life, in these times, is so highly organized, with special interests in each group, and these groups have such a tendency to consider only or chiefly those subjects that make for "the good of the order" that there are very few occasions where a mixed public, all concerned with the same local matters, get together for debate, and hence a genuine and intelligent consensus of opinion on matters of common concern is seldom realized. In the earlier days the old-fashioned town-meeting in New England and the old-time debating society were important factors, with life less complex and social distinctions less pronounced. The newspaper which is no longer a journal of unbiased public opinion dealing with matters of public welfare, but a commercial proposition, is the chief factor in the creation of public sentiment with the masses of today.

The great percent of our American voters have no well-defined and independent opinion on public matters. They have an opinion on local town or city

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issues if they touch them in some personal way, but beyond that they are guided in their decisions on public questions by the opinion of the political party or Labor Union to which they belong. In the first they are given little opportunity for forming opinion. They accept generally the dogmatic assertions of party leaders much as the parishioner accepts the dictate of the priest. The Labor Union which has come into existence as a defensive institution is inevitably narrow and biased and its discussions are not conducive to wholesome opinion on public matters. The orders, lodges and other institutions are chiefly concerned with promoting their organizations as such, rather than in considering items of public concern; even the church, which claims to be a democratic institution devoted to the good of humanity, spends most of its force in promoting the institution rather than the public good, and the more firmly the institution becomes intrenched as such, the more distinct the community cleavage. If there are certain practices against which it is committed, it will enter upon a dogmatic campaign against these, but its general life and purposes are not lent to a consideration of community matters by community discussions, it assumes to hold a brief for standards and does not subject itself to a discussion of these with those who are outside its pale. Thus it often becomes a barrier to peaceful co-operative understandings. There are communities where nothing can be done about public matters that does not accord with

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the sentiment and contribute toward the interests of the dominant church in the community.

As a result the average man has little chance to discuss current issues with his fellow-neighbors in a wholesome way under direction of intelligent leadership, and the vote of the man on the street is not an independent well-considered personal opinion; hence government is partly determined by chance, and partly by selfish interests with little intelligent concern for the common good. A government by such majorities is not a government of the people nor by the people and cannot possibly be for the people.

There is an interest today in great problems of the nation upon the part of the American people never before manifest. The war has called us out of our narrowness and caused a breadth of thinking not previously among us. It has been a great school of thought, especially to the four million picked young men who have watched with keen interest every turn of events, a large percent of whom have been mentally and morally stirred on problems of the day by the influence of some of the greatest men of our day touching them in a time of psychological significance. These soldiers have formed opinions and they are bound to assert them. The great labor element with its large foreign contingent is also exceedingly forward in its expression. We need some way to provide for the intelligent direction of opinion on the disturbing and by no means simple issues now pressing the American people.

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Every community should have some kind of opportunity for freedom of speech consistent with our American standards, both for the sake of forming public understandings and also to furnish a kind of safety-valve for the relief of pressure born of an agitated state of mind. It has been a difficult question to decide in our nation of free speech and democratic practice just how to regulate this so that men would have actual freedom of speech and yet not be permitted to utter expressions advocating violence or generating a revolutionary spirit against the government. Whether there is more danger in allowing a very large measure of freedom than in keeping a close curb on speech is still a question. It is evident, however, that there must be the largest possible degree of freedom compatible with the sanctity of our government. Otherwise we should find ourselves living on the edge of volcanic eruptions with this mixed state of mind born of our world races.

For many years previous to the war the Charles Street Mall of the old Boston Common has been the rendezvous, on Sunday afternoons from May to November, of thousands of men from the great mixture who have listened to soap-box orators of every variety. Here the proletariat have had a chance to relieve themselves of notions held with intensity of feeling, which explosions in the open have caused little injury to anyone, but have relieved these agitators of poison which delivered less openly might have been more harmful.

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It has been interesting during war time to observe the workers from the garment shops as they take their noon recess on Fifth Avenue, New York City, all the way from Fourteenth to Forty-second Street. They assemble in groups and debate among themselves more or less heatedly the issues that concern them; unfortunately nearly always in a foreign tongue, and more unfortunately still with no one to give intelligent balance to their ideas gained chiefly from reading the radical press and listening to the extremely biased agitator. To an extent that kind of thing occurs in nearly all groups of the common people even to those who meet at the village grocery store or blacksmith shop in our sparsely settled neighborhoods. A democracy must give opportunity for this free expression, but unless this has some intelligent direction freedom of speech may make only for unrest and greater confusion.

The forum affords a means of discussion of matters of common interest and if wisely conducted by choice of a wide range of topics discussed by men of pronounced views, but in a spirit of tolerance, can be a popular education to any community and result in the voluntary abandonment of many practices that make for strife and competition, that disturb peace and limit prosperity, and will result in understanding of, and interest in, local, state and national problems that will make for initiative toward good government.

The conduct of the forum is exceedingly important, else time is wasted, good impressions dissipated, and

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confusion rather than intelligent clarification is the result. The writer was present at several sessions of a well-known forum in New York, last season, where excellent discussions were nearly wasted by virtue of the wide-open plan of conduct. On one occasion a congressman spoke with a strong emphasis on American representative government; on another a representative of the socialist party gave a very sane and calm presentation of the socialist position. At the close of each address the meeting was opened to short speeches by men who chose to ask for the platform, and there was turned loose on the interested auditors, men half of whom spoke in such broken English they could not be clearly understood, a large percent were rabid, incoherent and offensive, quite as much so when they followed the man with whom they did agree, as the one from whom they dissented. In both instances the value of the occasion was largely dissipated, to say nothing of the encouragement lent to men of doubtful Americanism.

The writer has been a careful observer of the forum ever since the movement was inaugurated in Cooper Union, has watched its development with keen interest in various sections, has noted the types of forums, independent and connected with established institutions, has studied the methods, estimated the effect and is bound to say that the only safe policy, and the one having largest governmental and community value and carrying with it the approval of all classes, is that pursued by the Ford

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Hall Forum in Boston, organized and directed so successfully for many years by Mr. George Coleman, who while he has sufficient breadth to give the extreme elements a fair hearing, has a poise and a command that keeps the meeting within helpful bounds, and gains for it the respect of all classes in the city. His several open-air meetings at the bandstand on the Common, which were an experiment the past season, were remarkable examples of what can be done even in an open park and in these feverish times. He does not open the meeting after the address to anyone who wishes to speak, thereby taking chances on the dissipation of the impression made, but does open it freely to all for questions, to be answered by the speaker of the hour. These questions give opportunity for the equivalent of a statement of disagreement but do not let the meeting out of the hands of the director. Even in the out-of-door crowd there was an air of dignity and an intelligent exchange of ideas that emphasized freedom of speech, and yet was not a dissipation of the intelligent and opinion-making thought presented. The questions were treated with the same regard as were the utterances of the speaker.

We must do something in every community, whether a remote rural district, a foreign quarter in a great city or agitated industrial center, to save those aliens who are to become American citizens from being the victims of those who imbue them with a prejudiced conception of America, and inspire them with a doubtful if not an antagonistic attitude

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toward our customs ere they have had any fair representation of our virtues. We need not be surprised that they are won by the radicals who go to them with the message and make them participants in their discussions and aims, while we do nothing until conditions reach a point of alarm and then go after them by high-pressure processes. In no way can we reach these people in the foreign districts or mill centers so favorably and so rapidly as to take them some modified form of open forum, if necessary with reliable interpreters, with an appeal in presentation of Americanism, with a consideration not merely of what it is in its fundamental historic principles, traditions and institutions, but what Americanism is interpreted and applied to the problems of the hour in which they are so vitally interested.

We should go to them not in the spirit of conferring upon them a favor, but with a sincere interest in what their point of view may do for us, as well as what our ideas may do for them. These should not be organized as Americanization programs to capture aliens for citizenship, mere temporary movements; but as permanent community centers to secure their co-operation for the common good, anticipating that Americanization and citizenship will come with the interest generated in American problems through the local unit.

Whether dealing with exclusive alien groups, mixed companies or native Americans, what we need is to get folks together to discuss local matters of

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common concern that can only be cared for by community co-operation. To discuss is to become interested and to become interested in the local public welfare and in local good government leads to interest in the larger government of the nation. To make democracy function in America we need to practice democracy in interchange of ideas and joint activities in the first unit of democracy, the neighborhood in which we live.

THE INITIATIVE FOR REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

Three hundred years ago July 30th, 1916, American representative government was born in the little wooden church in Jamestown, Virginia. It was a community matter and a decided break from the traditions that had held these people. It did not mean independence, but it meant initiative toward independence. A little more than a year later, the little company of Pilgrims before leaving the Mayflower at Plymouth gathered in its cabin and drew up a solemn compact for co-operation in self-defense. Neither was this a declaration of independence, but it was an initial step toward self-determination and the government of the people by the people for the people which was to follow in the course of time, for these steps in initiative laid the foundations and set the trend which led to a condition of recognized independence long before any formal declaration was made.

Thus this great democracy, the most successful government by representation in the world today,

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or in history, had its inception in community initiative for the common good; and as we continue to magnify the neighborhood as the first unit, extending the principles and practice from the lesser to the larger, we shall avoid government by imposition from the top, and escape the imperialism of assumed authority in legislators acting for special interests, and preserve to our nation the medium for the perpetuation and effectiveness of a government by the people. At this time when our nation is forced to act, and grapple with these practices that have been allowed to so graft themselves upon our national order that being so long undisturbed they now almost lay claim to governmental protection, the reversion to first principles of self-determination through government initiative upon the part of the individual through the co-operative practice of every community, serves notice upon these extortioners that the time has arrived when the people of the nation are to fix legislation, and that the sovereignty of the citizens will wipe out the shameful and oppressive oligarchy by which for a generation the rights of this great free people have been too largely determined.

The reason why unlawful practices have been permitted to become so fixed and so stubborn in their trend that they are near a law unto themselves within a system of laws to which they run counter, is because we have thus far dealt with them chiefly from the top, that is, through those officials and bodies who are susceptible to being overcome by in-

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fluences that hold sway. When these problems are dealt with from the great democratic unit, the people of every neighborhood, who act upon their own initiative in self-defense, and public sentiment throughout our nation becomes a unit through the aggregation of these in a common national aim it will be a purpose that cannot be reached and changed as that of these representatives is reached and changed. These problems will then be solved and national offenders will lose their grip under the unyielding power of a national sentiment beyond their reach, in the self-determining purpose of the free people of every community.

These unamerican practices obtain because the makers of legislation are not the people's representatives as they should be. They may, by clever politics or powerful influences, be in office in spite of public sentiment that prevails in their community or section, they may be there through indifference of a majority of the people; in either case they are not real representatives of the people, though they may represent the party as it is controlled. So much of our representation is of that order, that it has no sentiment behind it except for some legislative purpose worked up by circularization or other means, which is very unstable and lacking in strong conviction which makes sentiment effective. We shall not secure a thorough and permanent cure for our serious national ills until we secure a governing body in state and nation chosen by the people on their intelligent initiative, with a public sentiment behind

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these legislators with conviction in it that demands that representatives represent and removes the fortunes of such from the powerful influences that dictate, or the clever politicians that determine.

Such a change will be brought about only by a persistent educational and inspirational movement through the individual communities that will create vital and general interest in public welfare; and this can only be accomplished by plans that will make every community a little democracy where all the people participate interestedly and intelligently in all local welfare.

When interest is secured and becomes spontaneous in local policies and local politics it will readily reach out and render like determination to the problems of the state and nation; then we shall have representative government, then injustices will automatically disappear and those who have come among us looking for equality of opportunity through a peoples' government in which all take a part, will find their hopes realized.

Representative government to be successful must be representative in two respects, at least; that is, it must be by the selection of intelligent and highly capable men who are qualified to represent the interests of the people who elect, and also broad enough to represent what is best for state or nation at large, for local interests are ultimately tied up with the fortunes of the nation. This means that we must have men chosen who are leaders, who see what the people need, what is best for the nation and help

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their constituency to see it on the one hand; and leaders of sufficient force to succeed with their colleagues in securing such legislation as they deem wise and necessary. Representative government should also be representative as nearly as possible of all the people. It does not follow that in state or national legislature there can be representation in personal position or vocation of all the elements of a community or constituency, that would require too many representatives and make government too burdensome; but there should be a selection of men who combine as many qualities of representativeness as possible and not men who merely represent themselves, a small faction, or particular interests of a community or district.

The practice of electing men without regard to such representation has not only brought political customs into disrepute but is not intended to further representative government. For example, it has been a custom from time immemorial to elect to state and national legislature, especially the latter, a large number of lawyers; sometimes Congress is constituted almost entirely by such. This course was a natural one especially in early days when the lawyer's standing was more distinguished, perhaps justly so. They were qualified in respects that other men were not, and to some extent this is true today, but when a nation's legislature is composed largely of these, it has elements of danger in it, because it does not represent all the people, but generates a feeling of class representation even if these men are in all gen-

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eral respects both capable and worthy. We need a better representation of all classes because the custom of the past has generated serious criticism. The present congress is constituted of about 75 percent lawyers, which leaves a very small representation from the other callings.

However, if we are to correct this custom and demand a more general selection of representatives so that every section of society shall be fairly represented we must have more general interest in public matters upon the part of the rank and file of our citizens. If representative government fails, it will not fail by partisanism, unfortunate as it sometimes is, nor by corruption though intolerable, but by indifference and lack of intelligent interest upon the part of the average voter. Citizenship in this country has never been taken with sufficient seriousness, and we have had little to impress its responsibility upon our constituency. We must have a campaign of education along this line in every community and an active interest upon the part of all our citizens in local self-government, thus developing a general knowledge of governmental practice that will provide men from all walks of life who will be capable of representing. We must also insist that those aliens who take up citizenship among us shall have these considerations fully impressed upon them and be sufficiently instructed before they are given this responsibility, that they may be able to vote independently and freely and not be left to be tagged or herded for political ends because they are

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without understanding or appreciation of the meaning of their action.

Our splendid traditional idea of self-determination, namely, "government by the consent of the governed," has come to be taken too literally. Those who gave expression to it did not mean that our governmental policies were to be by consent of the governed only, that is, the governed simply acquiescing without initiative or protest. Yet this has been too largely the actual history especially during these busy years of our material progress. We have now come to realize that democracy means more than this and that if the better and more intelligent element allow government to proceed by consent, the others are going to have government by initiative and they are working it now with a vengeance. The crisis demands that those fit to lead in determining government, take their responsible part, putting their country ahead of any personal ends that the majority that rules may be the majority that should rule.

Therefore, through every neighborhood unit of our nation, in our great surging cities among rich and poor, where native and where foreign elements prevail, through smaller cities, towns and villages even to where the country schoolhouse, church or grange are the only rallying centers, this great nation's constituency should be brought under the influence of a wholesome community center idea with a strong broad non-sectarian non-partisan program with a well-ordered educational plan to secure a degree of

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interest of knowledge and of practice in the first unit in representative government that will unify our whole nation, eliminate our unamericanism, create in every rising generation increased ability to administer successfully a government by and for the people and help make the world permanently safe for democracy by making this great land an example in self-government to all the nations.

THE COMMUNITY AND PUBLIC LEADERSHIP

One of the growing problems of this great nation is that of providing for leadership in public life. In the early history of our nation there were great men whose devotion to national concerns was natural and sincere, whose leadership was due to their personal qualities rather than to their alliance with political parties or programs. These men were able through their strength of character and commanding ability whether in or out of office to lend great force to every vital public issue.

It is common comment that we have not at our command for the highest offices of state and nation men of outstanding character from whom to choose. There are comparatively few men today whom the higher offices seek, that is, who stand out with such preeminence of leadership that there is upon the part of the general public a demand for their elevation to office, that comes not of political manipulation but spontaneously from the people, a democratic demand for representativeness.

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It would be a tremendous corrective and constructive factor in our nation if we could have for state and national officials men of such commanding influence that elections would be saved from those practices that elevate men who are politically available instead of men who are of accredited fitness. This would not only give to us worthy representatives of the people and qualified statesmen to conduct the government with honor and safety, but it would give the great voting mass a real interest in shaping government who now are either tools of a party, or too little informed or interested in the candidate to take trouble to cast their ballot, feeling that there is little choice.

Complaint is made that our educational institutions are not turning out public leaders, that whatever else we secure from our vast array of schools we are not getting from them any reasonable number of men who qualify in a large way for leadership in matters of government. Anyone who has been an observer of this must concede that the charge is true.

For many years our schools and colleges were conducted with a kind of idealistic curriculum the aim of which no one quite understood, and our boys and girls attended college for the purpose of graduating, without much notion of what specific value this was to be. In recent years this has been modified. There has been more selection with reference to specific aim. Then too vocational training has been emphasized and this has had decided effect on making education practical. Recently a college of high rank

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announced special courses in preparation for public service, intimating that our new world relations would call for an increased number of men for diplomatic and other public positions. All of this tends to make education practical but not necessarily to create leaders in public life. The fact is such leaders are not made they are born, and if, having the potential qualities for such leadership, they are not born into the full possession or commanded of these qualities by their natural birth, it is the business of our educational institutions to provide the conditions for the rebirth by which they will come into possession of themselves and the larger world in which they are to be of greatest service.

The weakness of our institutions is not in absence of scholastic qualifications but in the absence of ideals and atmosphere such as will bring out the real prophet, philosopher or statesman, all of whom bear a similar relation to human society in the responsibility that rests upon them. Our halls of learning have been void of that kind of seriousness of public obligation. Education has been either for the sake of education or for the sake of the individual rather than for public concern. The sordid or the superficial have dominated and out of this condition great leaders of men are not born or made. However, this weakness in our national situation is not to be charged entirely to our advanced institutions, it has its beginning back in the public schools of the community. Occasionally boys and girls will overcome these handicaps, but most of them will go

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through college with the same ideals dominant that were cultivated or permitted to obtain in the school at home.

So far as citizenship is concerned and a suitable vision of public responsibility, while much of course must be laid at the door of the homes out of which they come, two things are fundamentally determining in these lines; one is the type of teacher in the public school, the other the type of community and the relation of the school to the welfare of the community.

While as a nation we owe much to our public school teachers and are bound to give them great credit for our nation's progress, we have not in recent years made provisions for these in keeping with our devotion to other vocations; and if our teachers do not stand out with comparative strength in the average community it is in a large measure the fault of the public policy. In nothing is there such unwisdom of economy for a nation as to place limitations upon school teachers by fixing salaries that automatically eliminate many of the strongest young people in favor of a more remunerative position in some other calling. The position of public school teacher should carry with it compensation sufficient to make it a vocation of dignity to be sought by those of largest gifts and strongest character. The failure to do this reduces the standard and type of teachers, making it possible not only for persons of lesser type to secure the position, but making it necessary for the state to provide extensively for

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teacher training as such, which specialization much as may be said in its favor has a tendency to turn out teachers in a mechanical way that makes less demands for natural ability and character.

The influence of these teachers over boys and girls of high school age is most vital, and if they are themselves only persons of ordinary gifts and without large sense of responsibility, light hearted not only but light headed, who do not take into consideration that in a peculiar way they hold the destinies of these boys and girls in their hands and through them the destiny of the nation, we cannot expect to make of these young people the best citizens, much less develop them into leadership.

It has been contended that initiative for representative government must begin with the community, so we must seek the cure for this national shortcoming of lack of leadership in the community where these qualities first begin to develop.

There is no community so small that there are not matters of common public concern capable of being used as the basis of interest in public issues and the practice of the principles of government, and in the average community there is a good opportunity of relating high school students with these things in a way to illustrate and impress the responsibility of citizenship. The degree to which the people interest themselves in local welfare as an example to our young people and the degree to which schools are conducted to cultivate personal responsibility for the common

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good will depend the quality of citizenship and the type of leadership within our nation.

At the present time there is a widespread spirit of irresponsibility throughout our whole nation from those who lay in wait for an opportunity to overthrow the government, through the labor order down to the boys who in hoodlum fashion harass the community. This has come to be a very serious matter since our country is possessed of so much tendency toward liberty which amounts to license. In the recent lawlessness in the city of Boston when the police took so lightly their responsibility that they deserted their posts and mobs took possession of the city, the most of the outrages were committed by boys and young men of the irresponsible type more in a spirit of lawlessness than of viciousness; boys of ten to fifteen years were seen in groups everywhere for a few days and nights following away into the suburbs in a destructive spirit, and broke into stores with no desire other than disrespect for law and order. Even children caught the spirit and threw stones at passing automobiles.

We have come to be a nation of disrespect for authority, for law and even for the nation's Constitution. We have a spirit of appropriation and a disregard for public good, we cultivate a disposition to make the nation serve us without any disposition to serve the nation that it may be continuously able to provide us largest opportunity and fullest life. This irresponsible spirit does not obtain merely in the classes of lesser heritage and fortune,

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it is very general. The writer was interested at one time in securing a better standard of cleanliness and order that would lift the tone of the community in the business district of a large suburb of one of our great cities. This was a section of more than average quality but of little devotion to the common good. Scores of high school boys and girls would assemble at their lunch hour and clutter the sidewalks with absolute disregard for order and could only be kept within bounds by the master keeping watch over them.

We must have teachers who are vitally interested in establishing principles of good citizenship with these young people, and who have sufficient seriousness and force of character to impress this upon them and give the schoolhouse an atmosphere that makes for responsibility. The schoolhouse and school interests should make vital connection with the community and here boys and girls should learn to practice responsible citizenship in this first unit of government, then we will graduate citizens from our schools which should be the first consideration in their attainments, and out of these conditions we may hope to secure not only a very much higher average of citizenship but a very much larger percent of real leaders for public life.

CHAPTER VII

International Sentiment and Nationalism

THE VALUE OF RACIAL SYMPATHY IN AMERICANIZATION

THERE is no one quality more essential in the work of Americanization, especially in consideration of the alien group situation, than a wholesomely sympathetic international temper. We are fortunate that we have a large Americanized constituency already here with which to make the contact. Ours is in a very marked way an international nation with virtually every race and every tongue making up no inconsiderable part of our population. The flow of aliens into this country has been so generous that beginning with an annual influx of about 8000 an hundred years ago it reached the high-water mark in 1907, a total of 1,295,000, and during the century about 33,000,000, or nearly one-third of our present population, so that with the measure of assimilation that has been going on we have a world amalgamation that has greatly modified and tempered our nationality.

There is little provincialism in America and little of an insistent traditional order to handicap such process. To the real American it matters little where another has come from if he is disposed to be one of

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us in the truest sense. This world population of ours with sympathies stretching from the British Isles to Far East furnishes basic conditions for Americanization of more importance than any other factor that could possibly be introduced.

We have another element of great value in giving direction and lending force to this process, in the large number of personages from nearly every race who have thrown off their alien handicaps and put themselves thoroughly under the assimilative forces of America; men and women of rare native genius who have become real leaders among their own people and to a large extent influential with all foreign groups. Most of these at least are loyal Americans who appreciate what America has done for them; such men can scarcely fail to estimate the force of their influence or the scope of their responsibility. A man of this type who is an uncompromising American means more to the Americanization movement than any number of other influences. The aliens, especially those who segregate, are susceptible to leadership; strangers in a strange land they are ready to listen to one who has made something of himself by virtue of American institutions and has a standing in the new world, especially if he is of them and in sympathy with them.

We are advantaged also because of the large measure of intercourse established educationally, commercially, and otherwise through travelers and traders from our country, and particularly because, until our entanglements following this war, we had the friend-

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ship of nearly every nation, and little enmity, for we had not meddled in European matters, and had shown a friendly, helpful spirit toward all lands. Some of the governments may have looked with jealousy upon us but the people of the nations had no cause to fear or suspect us.

We have also established in nearly all foreign districts social settlements and other institutions whose whole disposition is to make an open door for the stranded stranger and to come to his rescue with a highly cultivated sympathy. We have missionaries who have become deeply interested in the various races by service rendered in their native countries, some of whom have risen above the merely conventional religious view to a vision of the larger racial or national need, whose sympathies are strongly with these people who have come to find a new life in a larger world.

For a half century the Christian churches of America have connected their constituency with all these foreign races by missionary work in their native lands and their missionaries and ministers have for various reasons urged upon the people generous consideration of these backward nationalities. The reaction against capitalistic treatment of these people in industries has set in motion currents of interest and plans and activities that generate sympathy in their behalf.

Finally, there is among us a national sense of world responsibility born of a consciousness of our providential position and our obligation to all mankind growing out of this. Having come into possession

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of these vast civilizing agencies with no mentionable contest, and having kept out of European affairs during these years, we are free from the selfish spirit of conquest and possessed of a benevolent attitude toward all the nations. There is nothing more convincing of American generosity toward the nations than the extent to which our people have consented without a murmur to be taxed to keep the rest of the world from bankruptcy, and solicited for every kind of cause with drive after drive to assist the stranded starving peoples in every part of the world. America has no disposition to shirk responsibility of any kind nor is there any party or part of our country that is disposed to withhold assistance from the backward nations.

All these facts and the atmosphere growing out of them furnish most favorable conditions for the thorough transplanting of these alien peoples into the new soil.

INTERNATIONAL SENTIMENT MAY BECOME DENATIONALIZING

Having considered this international disposition with all its potential service to Americanization we must not overlook the dangers that may be hidden in it. We must be aware that helpful and essential as such a temper is, if used without discrimination, this broad international sympathy may become denationalizing in its effect to the disadvantage of the alien and the peril of the nation.

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We are at present in a most unsettled state, and open as never before to hasty conclusions and popular sentiment of international order. It is nearly impossible to conceive that under normal, stable conditions our nation should have been swept off its feet to such an extent as recently by an appeal calling to us to suddenly forsake the policies of the past that have brought us to a place of power that makes us of so great value to the burdened nations. It must be evident, to any thoughtful American, in the light of our history and the established order of our government that to even consider such a venture, that our people must be under a passing spell of international hysteria entirely abnormal in their state of mind.

This is not altogether strange, in that the whole world mind is seething; there is little assurance anywhere, and there is readiness to venture in things untried. Our nation shares this to some extent, for we have had two million soldiers and many thousands of civilians, in the midst of the European maelstrom, fighting with the nearly frenzied people of Europe to save their imperilled freedom. We have also lent leadership from the eminent and able of our land to the solution of the post-war problems, attempting to help these nations to pull themselves together and save enough out of the wreck to get back on their feet and be able to function for peace and self-preservation.

Other influences have been undermining nationalism in America. The narrow egotistic nationalistic spirit of Germany, by its militaristic temper, carried to such excess of indulgence in dreams of conquest,

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has had a tendency to cause many people of little discrimination, to fear any emphasis of nationalism. The method pursued in the settlement of peace with promises of an outcome that would make unnecessary the strict nationalism of the past, has tended to cut the sinews of nationalism and make men feel that "America first" is an almost pagan slogan. This new world proposal would bind us to yield to the bidding of others regardless of the clear lessons of our own experience, and go to the rescue of the world, bear the white man's burden not as heretofore on our own benevolent initiative but at the behest of nations some of whom have themselves been and are still the white man's burden. All this has had a tendency to reduce our Americanism to a spineless thing, and has already resulted in boldness of national offenders beyond anything in our history. It is absolutely necessary that we discriminate as to these influences and fully offset them if our Americanism is to be worth contending for.

It is fortunate that we have the general atmosphere of a kindly internationalistic temper in order to provide for naturalness in the process of Americanization and assimilation; but it is unfortunate that this atmosphere should be characterized by an absence of a nationalistic emphasis that should make our nation stand to these aliens as a great independent country whose distinction among the nations is due to holding firmly to its fundamental American principles and policies so different from other nations. In the famous law suit of Henry Ford against the Chicago

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Tribune, it was stated that Mr. Ford had accepted the proposal of placing an internationally designed flag over his factory instead of the American flag because he thought it more fitting in view of the great variety of races represented in his employ. It is not difficult to estimate the effect of recognizing the significance of the international ideal in civilization to the extent of submerging entirely the national ideal; it would not only make Americanization meaningless except as a mere convenience, but would remove any real reason for true Americanization.

The American flag has peculiar meaning, it is not a traditional emblem but its glory is born of the ideals of the people it represents. These pages are being written almost within hailing distance of old Prospect Hill where was unfurled the first Union flag with its thirteen stripes. Under this flag we have grown from thirteen straggling colonies to a great nation far beyond any other on earth in wealth, power and general prosperity. In loyalty to it millions coming from all lands have found their largest life. When borne to the battle lines of Europe it was the inspiration of our allies and the dismay of our enemies. We have brought it back not internationalized. It is a liberal flag without a tinge of narrow selfishness about it, but it is the American flag and in its place or above it there is no room for any other flag under American skies.

The writer has in mind men able with pen and voice, one man in particular, a genuine American of foreign birth, who has made for himself a large place

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in the best American circles, but who nevertheless cannot be heard or read without a feeling that his sympathy with the alien is such that he would have us just take him in and then we would find out that his Americanism would be perfectly safe. While such a man is of great value in tempering the colder attitude of some of our people of wealth and influence who are not always as sympathetic or even as just as they should be toward the alien who serves them directly or indirectly, nevertheless his influence upon the alien may readily lead him to establish a claim upon us without any corresponding sense of responsibility upon his part.

This attitude is perfectly natural. Men of this class well know the handicaps of the foreigner and the limitations that are sometimes unjustly forged upon him; they have struggled with these themselves and have felt the coldness or indifference often manifest and therefore must sympathize with them. It could only be wished that always when so speaking or writing these men would likewise put beside this, growing out of their own experience, the superior advantages and the general disposition of this country toward the honest alien and always impress upon these that a large part of their embarrassment is due to their insistent segregative tendency often manifest when it need not be and their unwillingness to throw off those customs that are objectionable, as many have done, and make way for a heartier reception upon the part of the average American; and teach these people that if they would try to do what others have done they,

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too, would soon find themselves freed from their handicaps.

The religious leaders also are open to this unbalanced sympathy; their whole ministry is assumed to be tempered with interest in the less favored and those who for any reason are discriminated against. These, too, are keyed to an international interpretation and application of things, for such are their ideals. Their missionaries in foreign lands are there on the presumption of the basic unity of the race; this gives such leaders an international leaning, and disposition to be considerate toward aliens to an extent that may easily lead to a modification of national ideals in their behalf.

We have a very vivid illustration of this in the present attitude of the clergy and church leaders who are so generally committed to the League of Nations. Regardless of the merit of this proposal if it had come to them from some other angle or out of some other condition, the great mass of these, particularly the stanch Protestant wing, would have stood firmly against it as a violation not only of fundamental Protestant principles but as having dangers to such because it is based on the same interpretations and principles, Protestant Christianity fought to overthrow, an order of assumed authority and an organized force growing out of that. This League of Nations plan is one that stresses centered authority amounting to imperialism, emphasizes civilization by organization instead of inspiration, and is against freedom of will, limits self-determination, and is,

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therefore, in full accord with medieval Christianity but absolutely opposed to modern Christian principles, and to the first fundamentals of Christianity upon which the modern Protestant view is based.

It is this disposition toward internationalism and unbalanced sympathy for world races that puts these Christian leaders to such a degree in defense of a proposal which normally they would strongly oppose, for the entire policy of Christian conquest at home and abroad is in vivid contrast with this; they seek not to coerce the races but to enlighten them and trust to the leavening influences of the Christian truth and grace as against a great combined organization for coercion.

The same spirit is likely to possess the settlement and welfare worker; the very temper that qualifies them for efficiency in their field lays them open to a lack of balance toward the nation's just expectations of the immigrant. One of the most noted workers of this kind whose reputation is nation-wide and whose word on our great segregative social problems has been regarded as authority, seems to have been swept away by the international currents and would scarcely be considered at present able to pass safe judgment on questions of this kind, so fully has her life been exposed to the appeal of these peoples. A weekly publication of very great value to all those interested in social conditions in our country is of late especially colored with internationalism of the order that stresses the necessity of a wider open door for the alien; in a recent number it very sarcastically

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disposes of proposed immigration bills because they suggest a greater restriction. There is a large number of periodicals at present, some of them outspoken, some of them of subtle unamericanism, and these find their way into the best of homes and into our public libraries.

A writer whose talents have given her a goodly hearing among broad-minded Americans and the story of whose life as an immigrant made her a kind of heroine, has gone so far in her prejudice for aliens and against American rights as to cause her to say, "We violate the Declaration of Independence when we attempt to exclude aliens on account of race, nationality or economic status. . . . We do not question the right of an individual foreigner to enter our country on any peaceable errand; why then question the right of a shipload of foreigners?"

This is the radical extent to which those go who on racial grounds let themselves loose to the demands of alien elements to turn over this great country without discrimination to multitudes who never knew what it was to have liberty, say nothing about their lack of knowledge of lofty ideals. What intelligent true American would admit that we should make no difference between a single foreigner in this country on some proper errand, and the landing of a shipload of people who can neither read nor write, know not a word of our language, have social customs that are an offense to American standards and the prevalence of which would reduce our nation to a place unfit to live in. It is this sort

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of sentiment for the aliens upon the part of clever writers and speakers that would soon put our nation where there would be no need of Americanization, for there would be no America such as the same writer elsewhere has described as having given her all that has made her what she is.

It is this kind of thing for which we need to keep open eyes and it is because of many similar observations that these warnings are uttered. Only recently the writer was present at an Americanization meeting in the State House of one of our most important centers, which assembly as constituted was much more readily swept by appeals to a larger sympathy for the alien tempered with internationalism than by a stanch defense of American principles and institutions.

Our institutions of learning are exposed to this and even our public school teachers seem to be susceptible to this broader construction of Americanism, which is being preached so extensively. The large place given to social and economic questions in the schools of today, a very commendable and necessary part of an education in our time, has created a condition that makes for larger sympathy with aliens and the labor class. This phase of educational work which necessarily calls for investigation into the situation of the less favored, and those discriminated against, results in findings that are prejudiced, and in the effort to make the most of this field has brought about a biased state of mind. Some of these become out and out socialists and in-

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ternationalists with an arrogance toward America that has most unfavorable effect upon alien peoples. There are said to be noted institutions of learning that are honeycombed with internationalism as distinguished from strict Americanism.

Inasmuch as we have so great a percent of teachers in our public schools whose training has not taken them into a large world of thought, so much of their attention is taken up with method, it would not be strange to find many of them easily led in this direction; for to be an internationalist they are told is to be broad. Our public schools should not be hazarded by this tendency as against genuine nationalism, for this is the institution that above all others should stand for unqualified Americanism.

AMERICA MUST NOT FORFEIT HER INDEPENDENCE

There is no controversy among the intelligent and earnest people of America as to her part in the future of world civilization. Our course in this respect was long since determined and it cannot now be changed, nor do we wish it to be.

We all believe that our great racial mixture furnishes the basis for a world fellowship, as the world life mingles with ours and in turn pours its virtues into the backward nations, making us the great missionary nation to all mankind. Nevertheless it is just as clear that if this is to be our future, coming out of this unassimilated mass which may affect our life for good or ill, there must be a con-

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tinued dominance of those ideals and principles that have proven so rich in nation making and world uplifting. While we hold ourselves with utmost tolerance toward all those who are here and those who may be permitted to come, and with generous and helpful consideration toward all peoples who may need us, we must at the same time see to it that these dominant characteristics of our nation's strength are not swamped in an international confusion with every racial faction contending for its place, until our splendid United States of America with lofty ideals and gracious influences becomes so disintegrated as to have lost its place and its power for good among the nations.

America is fully warranted in holding to her independence in the determination of her future. We have no record behind us that could give the world concern as to our unhindered course. Our nationalism is not in antagonism to other nations. Our greatness was not born of an imperialistic disposition, we have not gained our power by seeking to crowd others off the earth. Our independence is that of initial purpose to provide a nation to meet the desires of a free and liberty-loving people in whose blood there is no taint of imperialism. Our institutions are not built on the wrecks of civilizations outdone; we blazed our way through the virgin forest and planted our foundations on the native rocks on which no civil life had ever stood. We fought not to oppose or displace others, but to open a course to a free

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people to live an independent self-determining life and set a standard for world order.

Let us not be deceived by the sentimental cry that only by sinking our nationalism in the great world order can we best serve for the deliverance and peace of the world. There is nothing in the record thus far to justify this. Every attempt to make our life a part of the vast world tangle in an organic sense has up to this hour only tended to reduce our popularity and limit our influence among the nations. This free unentangled nation determining its own course has grown in power and influence continuously across the years; and if there were any reason upon the part of nations for suspicion of selfish aims these were shattered on the battlefields of France as our nation, standing supreme where no other nation in history ever stood, dictating not by her selfish choice but by the choice of the free nations of the world, when by virtue of our great contribution of men and money we stood with our allies before the white flag of proud, imperialistic Germany vanquished by our sacrifices placed at the service of otherwise hopeless peoples.

Our independence had placed us there. Not once in history has our independent unhampered course limited our helpfulness toward the world. Without some great, free, strong, independent nationalism there will be no internationalism that is worthy the name.

When Mr. Emerson said "America is another name for opportunity," he followed it immediately

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with these significant words: "Our whole history appears like a last effort of the Divine Providence in behalf of the human race." The years that have passed since that utterance have fully justified it. They are rich with the benevolence of America toward the civilization of the world; for this half century we have been the good Samaritan to the unfortunate races from the ends of the earth; "strangers they were but we took them in;" and the greater part of all these have become a vital part of us and rejoice in the nation that adopted them and gave them a new birth of freedom and opportunity.

Now as never before should there be a new and burning passion for American independence. It should be blazed upon our banners, it should be burned into the hearts of our sons and daughters and it should be espoused without hesitancy by every alien who knocks at our doors and asks the protection of the Stars and Stripes.

We must hold this independence not only for ourselves but for our posterity; we who are inheritors of the safest nationalism ever committed to any people, have no right to make our successors losers among the nations by mortgaging their future to an uncertainty. We must hold this freedom that we may hand it down unimpaired, that there may be one nation on earth the refuge for the oppressed and the open door to the destiny for which all men were created. For this purpose were we born, for this purpose came we into the world of nations.







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